DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 329 450	SO 021 061

AUTHOR	Callahan, William T., Jr., Ed.; Banaszak, Ronald A., Ed.
TITLE	Citizenship for the 21st Century. Our Democracy: How America Works Series.
INSTITUTION	Constitutional Rights Foundation, Los Angeles, Calif.; ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, Bloomington, IN.; Foundation for Teaching Economics, San Francisco, Calif.; Indiana Univ., Bloomington. Social Studies Development Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-941339-10-6
PUB DATE	90
CONTRACT	RI88062009
NOTE	344p.; Papers from a Conference held in the fall of 1988.
AVAILABLE FROM	Publications Manager, Social Studies Development Center, Indiana University, 2805 East Tenth Street, Bloomington, IN 47405.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052) -- Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC14 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Citizen Participation; *Citizenship Education; Citizenship Responsibility; Civics; *Curriculum Development; Democratic Values; *Futures (of Society); Grade 8; Grade 9; Junior High Schools; Law Related Education; Socialization; *Social Studies; Student Educational Objectives; Values Education

ABSTRACT

As part of the formulation of a new multidisciplinary civics curriculum for students in grades 8 and 9, a major national conference on the future of civic education was conceived, on the premise that early adolescence is an especially appropriate time to introduce the fundamental ideas of a democratic society. This volume contains the presentations made to the conference by scholars in 10 areas of central importance to civics instruction: the individual disciplines of political science, economics, law, and sociology; implications of demographic change in the United States; political and economic socialization; civic participation; philosophy and ethics; and democratic values. Two appendices also are included: a Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference participants list and a list of members of the Our Democracy Project Steering Committee. (DB)

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CITIZENSHIP FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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Social Studies Development Center
Constitutional Rights Foundation

ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1990

Citizenship for the 21st Century

William T. Callahan, Jr.
Ronald A. Banaszak
editors

A publication in the series
OUR DEMOCRACY: How America Works

Foundation for Teaching Economics
Constitutional Rights Foundation
Social Studies Development Center
ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education

Ordering Information

Order this publication from the following source:
Publications Manager
Social Studies Development Center
Indiana University
2805 East Tenth Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47405
(812) 855-3838

ISBN 0-941339-10-6

ERIC, the Educational Resources Information Center, is an information system sponsored by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, within the U.S. Department of Education.

This publication was prepared with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, under contract no. RI88062009. The opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect the opinions or policies of OERI or ED.

Funding for the Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference and publication of these papers was provided by the Pacific Telesis Foundation.

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Foreword

The various challenges of citizenship in the twenty-first century are nearly upon us. This volume explores these challenges and alternative responses of civic educators to them. The different perspectives on citizenship and civic education presented in this collection of papers are stimulating contributions to the continuing debate among educators about the civic mission of schools.

This publication is part of the ongoing effort of the Social Studies Development Center (SSDC) and the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ERIC/ChESS) to contribute to the improvement of citizenship education. Staff of ERIC/ChESS are also involved regularly in acquiring and processing documents on citizenship education for the ERIC database. These documents include research reports, curriculum guides, lesson plans, annotated bibliographies, position papers, and monographs. ERIC documents on citizenship education and other subjects may be purchased from the ERIC Document Reproduction Services (EDRS), 3900 Wheeler Avenue, Alexandria, VA 22304-5110. These documents are available in either microfiche (MF) or paper copy (PC). The EDRS telephone numbers are (703) 823-0500 and (800) 227-3742.

This volume in citizenship education is the second co-publication of the SSDC, ERIC/ChESS, and the Foundation for Teaching Economics; the first was *Economic Education for Citizenship* by Steven L. Miller. The other co-publisher, the Constitutional Rights Foundation, is also a valued partner of ERIC/CHESS; past collaborations with the CRF have included ERIC Digests on *Community Service and Civic Education* and *Law-Related Education*. The SSDC and ERIC/ChESS have valued their partnership with the Foundation for Teaching Economics and the Constitutional Rights Foundation in advancing the cause of improving citizenship education in American schools and society.

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Acknowledgments

If this collection of essays helps to promote greater civic literacy and more effective citizenship education, it is a success that must be widely shared. Naturally, a debt of gratitude is owed to the scholars and professionals who participated in the Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference as presenters and respondents, and whose work is reproduced here. Thanks are also due to the nearly one hundred distinguished educators who fashioned the raw material presented at the conference into a coherent set of principles to guide the Our Democracy: How America Works project in its effort to create a new, more effective civics curriculum. That all participants were able to focus their undivided attention on the task at hand for nearly three full days is a tribute to Carol Khadjenouri, whose efforts as conference coordinator can only be described as herculean.

The editors are also grateful for the support of the Foundation for Teaching Economics (FTE), the Constitutional Rights Foundation, the Social Studies Development Center (SSDC), and the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education (ERIC/ChESS) in preparing this book. We reserve for ourselves all of the blame for its shortcomings. The efforts of Dr. John Patrick, Director of the SSDC and of ERIC/ChESS, and his able and talented staff of editors and assistants, especially Laura Smiddie and Dorothy Taylor, made the production of this volume so smooth and effortless as to tempt one to willingly undertake such a project again. Laura Smiddie deserves special praise for her excellent management of the editorial development and production of this volume. Her expertise and commitment were indispensable to the completion of this project. Among those who have labored to compile and edit massive tomes such as this, there is no higher praise.

William T. Callahan, Jr.
Ronald A. Banaszak
Editors

Preface

As the nation's leading advocate of economic education in Grades 7 to 10, the Foundation for Teaching Economics (FTE) is committed to giving young adolescents an understanding of how our economy works in order to prepare them to be economically literate voters, wise consumers, and productive citizens of our society.

Recognizing that economic literacy is one of the cornerstones of civic literacy, the FTE began several years ago to investigate the educational implications of linking more closely the study of our nation's political, economic, legal, and social systems. This research confirmed that early adolescence is an especially appropriate time to introduce the fundamental ideas of a democratic society. Further, the traditional civics course generally offered in grade 8 or 9 was found to focus primarily on the structure and function of the federal government and had lost favor among both teachers and students.

After receiving support and encouragement from educators around the nation, the FTE invited the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF) to co-sponsor Our Democracy: How America Works, a national effort to create a new, multidisciplinary approach for teaching civic literacy to young adolescents. The Our Democracy project is exploring ways to present a more realistic and practical view of how our citizens, systems, and institutions function dynamically together—in concert and in opposition—to meet individual, community, and national needs. Its goal is to provide the nation's schools with a more effective civics course that will equip young students with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes essential to good citizenship.

To launch the project, the FTE and the CRF sponsored a major national conference on the future of civic education entitled Citizenship for the 21st Century. Nearly one hundred nationally-recognized educators, scholars, and educational policy-makers participated in this prestigious three-day working conference. Their charge was to develop specific recommendations to guide the FTE and the CRF in their effort to improve civic education for young adolescents. Despite the variety of viewpoints represented, the conferees reached consensus on a number of content themes, including a strong endorsement of the Our Democracy project's central premise: that instruction about the United States' political, economic, legal, and social systems can and should be integrated into the civics curriculum taught in grades 8 and 9. The papers, proceedings, and recommendations from that conference, which are contained in this volume, represent the first step toward conceptualizing a new, multidisciplinary civics curriculum.

The FTE and the CRF wish to extend their sincere thanks to the presenters, respondents, discussants, and others who participated in the Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference. We are especially grateful to the Pacific Telesis Foundation and to the Earhart Foundation for their generous contributions that made the conference and the publication of this volume possible.

Guided by the principles set forth herein, the Foundation for Teaching Economics and the Constitutional Rights Foundation are currently proceeding with the challenging task of defining a new civics curriculum, developing instructional materials reflecting a multidisciplinary approach to citizenship education, and establishing model programs in selected schools around the nation. Those who recognize the need for revitalizing citizenship education and who wish to help shape the new civics curriculum are cordially invited to participate in the Our Democracy project. Inquiries may be directed to the Foundation for Teaching Economics, 550 Kearny Street, Suite 1000, San Francisco, CA 94108.

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Introduction

William T. Callahan, Jr.

Today's students face an increasingly complex and interrelated world in which the need for informed, participating citizens has never been greater. A broad, integrative civics curriculum is required in order to prepare young citizens to participate in such a dynamic and multifaceted civic environment. Yet traditional civics courses focus primarily on government, presenting a narrow and static view of citizenship and inadequately preparing students to assume their responsibilities as citizens. Consequently, the Foundation for Teaching Economics (FTE) and the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF) are co-sponsoring Our Democracy: How America Works, a national project to create a new, more effective civics curriculum for students in grades 8 and 9.

As the first step toward conceptualizing the new civics curriculum, a major national conference on the future of civic education, entitled Citizenship for the 21st Century, was convened in the fall of 1988. The program featured eighteen distinguished scholars who made formal presentations in ten areas of central importance to civics instruction: the individual disciplines of political science, economics, law, and sociology; implications of demographic change in the United States; political and economic socialization; civic participation; philosophy and ethics; and democratic values. These presentations were discussed and debated by more than seventy invited conferees who were charged with developing recommendations for the design and dissemination of a new, more effective civics curriculum. Representatives of virtually every segment of the education community were engaged in this endeavor (see Appendix A). With the exception of David Mathews' keynote address, the papers are reproduced here in the same sequence in which they were encountered during the conference.

As the conference papers underscore, democratic citizenship is a complex phenomenon. Its exercise is multidimensional and multidirectional. Rights bestowed are balanced by responsibilities assumed. Freedom *from* coercion is balanced by freedom *to* participate in the institutions of the community. Nor is the domain of democratic citizenship limited to government and politics. It encompasses roles and relationships within the economic system, the legal system, and the social system as well. Participation in each of these systems is characterized by reciprocal rights and obligations. Consequently, the hallmark of maturity is not shedding physical dependence and learning to survive alone. Rather, it is embracing interdependence by learning to live in partnership and reciprocity with the greater community.

Assuming the many and varied roles of democratic citizenship—voter, worker, consumer, volunteer—is not easy. Learning how to participate fully and effectively in the give-and-take of civic affairs is a lifelong process. The communities in which we live are not static. They constantly evolve as relationships between ourselves and others change, and never has the pace of change been swifter. In order to cope with the demands of modern citizenship, students need a broad, general introduction to civic life—they need a curriculum that provides them with key knowledge content from a variety of disciplines, basic civic skills and competencies, and an understanding of the democratic values underlying the ideals and practice of democratic citizenship.

In order to fulfill the roles and responsibilities of citizenship today, an individual must be knowledgeable about and competent in our nation's political, economic, legal, and social systems. Traditionally, however, civics courses in American schools have been more narrowly defined. They have focused almost exclusively on the structure and function of government, particularly at the federal level. Scant attention has been given to the study of our economic and legal systems, or to the importance of our network of social institutions and voluntary activities. To the extent that these aspects of democratic citizenship have been attended to at all, their treatment has been superficial, uninspired, not well integrated with other civics content, and hardly sufficient to impart even minimal understanding. This is especially the case where economics, and to a lesser extent legal systems, are concerned (cf. Miller and Rose 1983; Brenneke and Soper 1987; Morgan and Banaszak 1988). The goal of the Our Democracy project is to develop a new civics curriculum based upon a more realistic view of how America's citizens, systems, and institutions function dynamically together—in concert and in opposition—to meet individual, community, and national needs.

The Growing Danger of Civic Illiteracy

The celebration of the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution has provided a special opportunity for our nation to evaluate how well our citizens understand and carry out their civic responsibilities. Unfortunately, the results of this evaluation have not proved reassuring. At a time when information is more abundant than ever, the specter of uninformed and disengaged citizens—a fundamental threat to democracy—emerges in study after study of the civic knowledge, attitudes, and behavior of young Americans.

The civic knowledge of young Americans is inadequate, to say the least. The next generation of citizens exhibits little familiarity with or understanding of the major events and seminal ideas that have shaped our past and that will frame our future. Detailed knowledge of the Constitution is typically lacking. Familiar passages from the Declaration of Independence go unrecognized as such. Such fundamental ideas as "checks and balances" are alien to substantial proportions of high school seniors (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1976). Simply identifying political leaders (past or present) and describing basic governmental roles and functions is beyond the capacity of many (Bennett 1988). In spite of its prominence as a political issue, most students cannot even *define* a federal budget deficit, much less adopt a reasoned approach to evaluating alternative policy prescriptions for resolving the problem (Walstad and Soper 1988). As one recent report expressed the situation, the nation's current high school graduates have "no background with which to place in perspective the actions of the past that have shaped their world, no framework for judging current political debates" (Jones 1985). Nor do they seem to care. The proportion of entering college freshmen who identify "keeping up with political affairs" as an important goal has been declining for nearly two decades and is now a sentiment held by a distinct minority (Hartle and Taylor 1985).

The civic values espoused by students are equally troubling. Privatism, "the insistent emphasis on self," is a growing presence in American life (Coles 1980; Hoge and Ankney 1982; Holsinger and Chapman 1984; Warren 1988). Social concerns and concepts of public service and responsibility are of little interest. Personal goals and material rewards have become paramount. Traditions of self-fulfillment within communities are being eroded by the rise of a "culture of separation" grounded in extreme individualism (Bellah et al. 1985). For many of today's students, democratic values are empty slogans, and community is understood as a geographic designation rather than as a web of interpersonal relationships.

The political behavior of Americans is particularly disturbing. The right to vote is as rare as it is precious. It is the most fundamental of democratic rights, and arguably the simplest citizenship responsibility to fulfill. Yet, among all of the world's democracies, the United States ranks last in voter turnout. Moreover, the trend is decidedly downward. Despite myriad efforts to remove technical barriers to registration and voting and to enfranchise new groups, turnout has declined over 20 percent in the last generation (Gans 1987; Gans 1988).

Especially alarming is the political behavior of our youngest citizens. America's eighteen- to twenty-one-year-olds are the *only* group in history to evidence a turnout decline immediately after enfranchisement. Less than half voted in the first presidential election for which they were eligible (1972), and turnout has steadily decreased ever since (U.S. Department of Commerce 1989). At first interpreted in terms of alienation, it is now becoming clear that the dominant attitude undergirding non-voting among the young is indifference (Gans 1988). Indifference among the stewards of the future is a clear and present danger to democracy. As U.S. Supreme Court Justice Brandeis once observed, "the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people" (Campbell 1988).

The mass exodus of more than 20 million Americans from the civic arena in the last generation has enhanced the influence of the intensely self-interested. "Special interests" whose passions are narrowly defined in terms of a single issue, short-term advantage, or material gain, dominate the political process. Their rhetoric is rich in rights and entitlements claimed, but silent on attendant responsibilities to be assumed. Today, instead of asking what we can do for our country, many ask what our country can do for us. For the disengaged and the intensely involved alike, traditional concepts of community, the common good, public service, and patriotism have lost their meaning, and the single-minded pursuit of narrow, selfish interests has become a way of life.

Toward an Integrated Curriculum

Citizenship training takes place in a variety of educational settings, but it is the unique role of the social studies, and of civics courses in particular, to furnish instruction in the fundamental requisites of good citizenship. Delineating just what constitutes appropriate education for citizenship, however, has been an enduring controversy within the field (Hertzberg 1981; Schneider 1989). Should the purpose of civic education simply be to impart information about our society and to reinforce generally accepted behavior and values? Or should it be to create citizen problem solvers? The former suggests a fixed body of knowledge and didactic modes of instruction, with integration of content and perspectives left to the vagaries of chance. The latter implies a more dynamic approach involving integrated content, reflective inquiry, and critical analysis.

In order to cope with the increasing demands of modern citizenship, students require access to a variety of analytic tools and disciplinary perspectives. In short, they need a broad integrative education. Unfortunately, this runs counter to the evolution of the disciplines toward ever greater specialization. Intellectual fragmentation is the academic equivalent of privatism, and has as unhealthy an effect on civic education as privatism has on the civic culture more generally (Bender 1985). It inhibits collaborative planning of curriculum because expertise is organized within disciplines. Communicating across disciplines is unfamiliar, alien to teacher training, and not supported by sufficient institutional incentives to make the effort worthwhile (Warren 1988). Moreover, intellectual fragmentation retards the development of a unified vision to guide the content, formulate the pedagogical strategies, and evaluate the results of civic education.

Within the narrow confines of the civics course, the central question remains: whether the curriculum should reflect the essentially scholarly interests of political scientists or serve broader, more encompassing civic purposes (Shaver and Knight 1986). In recent years, broader purposes have been increasingly advocated.

A variety of studies and assessments of the state of education in the 1980s have called for a new approach to citizenship education, which breaks the content stranglehold of government and politics to encompass the economic, legal, and social aspects of civic affairs as well. A major national research study, *The Current State of Social Studies*, recommends that content and instruction focus more directly on how most people participate in society. It suggests that the definition of civics be broadened through a focus on the variety of civic roles people play outside of the political arena: worker, consumer, family member, friend, and member of various social groups (Superka and Hawke 1983). The report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation At Risk* (1983), similarly recognizes that citizenship entails more than purely political competence when it concludes that economic literacy "is requisite to the informed and committed exercise of citizenship." The National Council for the Social Studies Task Force on Scope and Sequence (1983) likewise endorses a multidisciplinary conception of citizenship in recommending for the ninth grade a course entitled Systems That Make a Democratic Society Work: Law, Justice, and Economics.

In response to the burgeoning support for a new approach to civic education, several states now require or recommend eighth- or ninth-grade civics courses which include the integration of political, economic, legal, and social content. The State of North Carolina, for example, has mandated a course entitled The Economic, Legal, and Political Systems in Action, and recommends that it be offered at the ninth-grade level. Unfortunately, available instructional materials rarely live up to the promise of such course titles. A recent analysis by a distinguished panel of political scientists and teachers reported in *We The People: A Review of U.S. Government and Civics Textbooks* confirms this point. The report concludes that current civics materials

> . . . too often are static descriptions of dynamic processes, ignoring questions of belief and value at the heart of people's lives. . . . We face the challenge of developing a fresh approach to the subject . . . one that brings it to life and induces the student to think critically about American public values, the conflicts among them, and the difficulty and necessity of continuously making choices (Carroll 1987).

Interviews conducted by the Foundation for Teaching Economics with teachers from across the country similarly revealed a great need for materials that focus on the needs, abilities, and interests of young adolescents and that integrate political, economic, legal, and social content.

The Need for Citizenship Education in Grades 8 and 9

Early adolescence is an especially appropriate time for students to receive their first comprehensive, integrated civics instruction. Prior to this age, students can reason only in literal and superficial ways. It is not until middle/junior high school that students acquire the cognitive ability to comprehend reciprocal relationships and to reason abstractly, skills that are essential to democratic citizenship. Moreover, students experience the basic development of their adult values during the middle-grade years. Consequently, early adolescence can be a time of rapid development of civic enlightenment.

At the same time that young adolescents are developing the intellectual capacity to benefit from an integrated curriculum, they are also gaining their first concrete experience with the roles and responsibilities attending adult civic life. This is especially the case with respect to the economic sphere. Young adolescents are entering the labor force in greater numbers with each passing year, due in part to school-related work opportunities and to an increasing demand for part-time employees, especially in the retail food industry (Greenberger and Steinberg 1982). They also play important roles in a variety of markets (e.g., clothing, entertainment, consumer electronics) as a result of both their spending power and their influence on family buying decisions (Davis 1987). An integrated civics curriculum complements the nascent economic and social experiences of young adolescents, helping to place them in context, and assisting in the evolution toward adult roles, responsibilities, and relationships.

Perhaps of greatest importance, early adolescence is a time when nearly every youngster in the nation is attending school. At a time when appeals for excellence in education come from every quarter, we find that little progress has been made in reducing the dropout rate. The average dropout rate in the United States is virtually the same as it was twenty years ago—25 percent. This is primarily a high school phenomenon, however. Below the tenth grade, the dropout rate is only about 2 percent (Frankel 1985). An eighth- or ninth-grade civics course may be the only opportunity that fully a quarter of our youth will have to learn about the basic systems in which they will function for the rest of their lives. It may also encourage at-risk students to stay in school.

Citizenship for the 21st Century

The Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference was structured to stimulate productive and balanced deliberations. Opportunities for reflection, interaction, discussion, and debate were plentiful. The conference planners expected that as the conferees exchanged views in large and small discussion groups, intellectual synthesis would occur. It was hoped that during the group discussions the perspectives of those participating would not simply be *compromised* into a "most common denominator," but rather *transformed* into an entirely new vision of the dimensions and purposes of civic education. Members of the Our Democracy Steering Committee, a group of nationally renowned social studies professionals advising the project, served as facilitators of these deliberations (see Appendix B).

Despite the many complex issues addressed and the variety of viewpoints represented, the conferees reached consensus on a number of content and strategy themes. This convergence around a limited set of guiding principles was facilitated by the formal presentations. Although the scholars who prepared papers for the conference worked independently and under a minimum of direction, common strands were readily discernible in the body of work. These synergies were apparent to the conferees and eased the consensus-building process. Although they should also be apparent to the reader of this volume, they bear brief mention here.

The most significant theme reflected in the papers and the conference deliberations concerned the premise of the Our Democracy project itself. The proposition that content from the political, economic, legal, and social systems *can* and *should* be integrated in an eighth- or ninth-grade civics curriculum was enthusiastically embraced. The artificial boundaries separating content areas and inhibiting effective education for citizenship were continually decried. The traditional emphasis on content *from* the disciplines was resoundingly rejected in favor of connections *across* disciplines. The cogency of a multidisciplinary approach to civics was such that the premise of the Our Democracy project was not a major issue for the conferees.

A second theme emerging from an overview of the conference papers and deliberations is that information or knowledge alone does not a citizen make. Content from each of the disciplines must be supplemented with applied skills. Effective civic participation is an active and multidimensional enterprise that requires multiple competencies. Among the requisite intellectual and interpersonal skills emphasized in the papers are intelligent television news watching and newspaper reading (Michael Nelson, Carla Howery), critical thinking (A. Bruce Campbell), cooperation and conflict resolution (Stuart Langton), and problem solving and decision making (F. Chris Garcia, Beverly Armento).

A related prescription recommended by the authors and supported during discussions is that mastering applied skills requires practice. As David Mathews asserts, civic participation is hard work. Competence is forged through experience. Means of engaging young adolescents in the active enterprise of civic learning, from community service to the conceptualization of the school as a political system, are discussed in many of the papers.

The general proposition that all elements of the curriculum—teaching methods, strategies, and instructional materials—should be geared toward the abilities, interests, and experiences of young adolescents was broadly endorsed. One of the most appropriate ways, the use of concrete, real-world examples, was cogently argued by several presenters, especially Beverly Armento.

A final thread running through the fabric of the conference presentations and deliberations is that informed judgment requires perspective. Multiple perspectives and frames of reference are needed to interpret events, evaluate issues and alternatives, and make reasoned decisions. The importance of grounding civic learning in an appreciation of and commitment to democratic values is most thoroughly addressed by R. Freeman Butts but is a theme that is echoed in virtually all of the papers. The relevance of global perspectives to citizenship in an increasingly interdependent world is also repeatedly emphasized. Traditional constitutional and historical frames of reference are well represented among the papers and responses.

The continued health and prosperity of the United States depends upon the collective wisdom, creative efforts, and decision-making abilities of individual citizens. One of our educational system's most important responsibilities is to endow our children with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes essential to effective citizenship. That this mission is not being adequately fulfilled is reflected in increasing civic illiteracy and in declining levels of civic participation.

A pressing need to reinvigorate the vitality of participatory democracy and to stimulate a renewed commitment to democratic values has become apparent. Individually and collectively, the papers compiled in this volume address these imperatives. To the extent that they enhance understanding of the dimensions of the problem, sensitize the reader to the challenges confronting civic educators, and stimulate discussion of ways and means of better preparing young adolescents to assume the mantle of adult citizenship, they make a substantial contribution to the future of our democracy.

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Part One:

Frames of Reference

Introduction to Part One

William T. Callahan, Jr.

Developing an integrated approach to civics demands inclusiveness. Hence, the papers commissioned for the Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference encompass a broad spectrum of disciplinary perspectives on and approaches to the task. By the same token, designing a civics course to better prepare students for citizenship in the nation's third century must take account of who those students will be. Accordingly, in structuring the conference agenda it was decided to provide participants with two overarching frames of reference to inform their deliberations—one theoretical and one contextual. These frames of reference were presented in the keynote addresses by David Mathews and Harold Hodgkinson and are reproduced in this section.

David Mathews argues that our concept of civic education is impoverished by failure to focus on the work that citizens must do to give direction and meaning to politics. The conventional model of democratic politics involves interest groups, their competition in the political arena, bargaining, and compromising. Success is achieved by those who can build majority coalitions to elect candidates and pass legislation. The government referees the contest, and outcomes determine distributions of government services and resources. This model can be seen in operation every day. But it is only a partial model, and it reduces politics to a spectator sport and civic education to a primer on how to keep score.

The missing element in our concept of civic or political education, Mathews argues, is the politics of the public. Exemplified by the town meetings and forums of the Revolutionary Era, the politics of the public entails the transformation of private opinions into shared judgments. It is the process whereby common ground, political will, and public purposes are forged. Absent the public's engagement in these tasks, government cannot function. Yet, the issue of how to prepare citizens to participate in this fundamental process is not addressed by conventional approaches to civic education.

The requisite skill for public politics, Mathews asserts, is the ability to make common judgments, an ability that transcends the stuff of conventional civics. Public judgment requires the integration rather than the aggregation of diverse points of view. The process entails learning to talk to and to think with one another. Students can engage in such dialogue. As Mathews reports, the Kettering Foundation's National Issues Forums have been successful at helping students formulate public judgments. Students enjoy the experience, and it makes it easier for them to understand the concepts and values of our civic culture as well. Unfortunately, such an orientation to civic education is the exception and not the rule. Schools, in the main, are set up to reward teaching and learning the facts. The implications of Mathews' alternative theory of civic education for teacher training, instructional materials and practices, school and classroom environment, and competency testing were accordingly widely discussed and debated by conference participants.

Promoting the development of civic intelligence—the capacity to discover what is common amidst the great diversity of interests in our pluralistic society—seemed to conference participants to be a worthy goal for citizenship education. It was felt that it could provide the common thread that creates a shared consensus about the core purpose of civics. By defining the requisites of civic intelligence, Dr. Mathews provides much-needed definition to the otherwise vague concept of civic education. Classroom dialogue can be a powerful tool for broadening students' perspectives and encouraging a common concern for the future.

It is imperative that the citizens of the twenty-first century be skilled in integrating diverse points of view and forging common ground, for, as Harold Hodgkinson informed conference participants, increasing diversity is one of the hallmarks of our nation's future. Such demographic trends as increasing immigration, declining white fertility, and changes in family structure are causing fundamental changes in the social fabric of the United States. These developments confront our schools with the challenge of educating future citizens within the context of an entirely new order of pluralism.

Immigration to the United States during the 1980s has been unprecedented. The historic record of 8.7 million new arrivals between 1901 and 1910 has been eclipsed, and there are no signs that the current tide of immigration will recede. The diversity of the contemporary immigrant population—in educational background, cultural heritage, native language, etc.—is also impressive. It is not unusual for school systems in major ports of entry such as New York and Los Angeles to find eighty to one hundred different languages represented among their students. Such diversity represents an enormous challenge to the maintenance and transference of the cultural core—the bedrock of knowledge, belief, and practice that binds our diverse society into a functioning whole. It is imperative that education place particular emphasis on celebrating the virtues of pluralism, inculcating the democratic value of tolerance, and endowing citizens with the skills necessary to integrate diverse points of view lest intolerance and prejudice continue their recent resurgence.

In tandem with high black and Hispanic fertility, immigration is fueling dramatic changes in the ethnic profile of the United States. Already, the thirty largest public school systems in the nation are populated by "minority majorities." Even the most conservative projection estimates that minorities will comprise 48 percent of school enrollments by the turn of the century. Moreover, the change in student profiles is occurring within the context of declining black and Hispanic college-attendance rates. These in turn are contributing to the steady depletion of the ranks of minority teachers.

Changes in family structure are generating still further pressures on schools. The traditional American family, composed of a housewife mother, working father, and two school-age children, has all but disappeared, representing only 7 percent of U.S. households. Accordingly, demands on schools to assume family functions (e.g., child care) are increasing. A related development challenging the educational system is the rise of single-parent families, overwhelmingly headed by females. Divorce, abandonment, and teen pregnancies have all contributed to feminize the nature of poverty in America. Nearly one-quarter of all children are living below the federal poverty line, and poverty is strongly related to poor school performance.

Dr. Hodgkinson's presentation profoundly influenced conference deliberations on several levels. The urgent need for more effective civic education was strikingly underscored. The citizens of the twenty-first century will operate in a society of great diversity. They will need skills of integration—civic intelligence—to function successfully as a democratic polity. As students, their diverse ethnic, cultural, family, and economic backgrounds present considerable challenges to the schools. New civic education programs must not only be much more effective, but must also achieve "improved" results among a more problematic student population.

Information concerning the scope and character of immigration stimulated extended conference discussions concerning the cultural literacy movement. The history, culture, and values of Asia and the Third World are becoming increasingly relevant to the evolving culture of the United States. How can this development be reconciled with the predominantly Western values and principles that have shaped our past? How do we enrich our polity through cultural adaptation? How do we maintain a prosperous democratic community in the process?

On a more instrumental level, it is clear that the content of the civics curriculum is in need of change. Hodgkinson points out that the "Norman Rockwell family" is an endangered species, and yet textbooks continue to present it as the typical, if not the ideal, family form. Similarly, the "warts" of democracy are far too often ignored, and yet substantial numbers of students have experienced such phenomena as poverty, inequity, and prejudice. Children do not come to the civics curriculum as blank slates. Discrepancies between what they are taught and what they experience do not go unnoticed. We must expose students both to what ought to be *and* to what is, and teach them how, as citizens, they may endeavor to bring more congruence between the two. Honesty, compassion, and an abiding faith in the premise and promise of the democratic enterprise must be the hallmarks of civic education for the twenty-first century.

Teaching Politics as Public Work: An Alternative Theory of Civic Education

David Mathews

As a research foundation, Kettering has been working for quite some time in the field that brings us here: civic education. We sometimes call it political education, but we don't mean by politics what is normally meant—things that politicians do. We mean by politics what the Greeks meant—those things that have to do with all of our common life as a political community—a polity.

But why is there a problem for any of us over civic or political education? I can't think of anybody saying, "We are against educating young people to be good citizens." Certainly, there are some who are not interested in citizenship—or who don't take it seriously. But there isn't a problem with powerful groups trying to stop civic educators. Even so, we can't have the kind of civic education we want. Why? What are the real obstacles? My guess is that the conventional way we have of thinking about politics keeps us from fastening on the work that citizens have to do in politics. And that, in turn, impoverishes our concept of civic or political education.

The Conventional Political Wisdom

There is, indeed, a powerfully persuasive concept of politics that children learn from the dinner table and the television set long before they ever enter school. Everybody knows how our political system works. Talk to any community in the country, to any college group, to any assembly of high school students, to any collection of U.S. senators, and you will get exactly the same story. Everybody knows how our version of democracy really works.

It's very simple. We're organized into interest groups which compete with one another in a political arena that is like a marketplace with all kinds of competition and transactions. Some of the interest groups are able to amass a majority, get legislation passed, and candidates elected because of their skill in manipulating the public and the media. The function of government is to adjudicate this competition and distribute resources as dictated by the outcomes. Everybody knows that. And it's true. That's the way part of politics works.

But for those of us who are interested in teaching democratic citizenship there is a serious problem with this concept of politics. There is practically nothing to teach. In your material, you have a section criticizing teaching civics as procedures of government. Good! But why do we teach procedures of government—the way a law is passed? The answers seem obvious. If politics is nothing but self-interest, how could anyone teach you your own self-interest? And if the activities of politics are really the down-in-the-trenches, pull and tug of factions—transactions, deals, manipulations—who would ever think of going to school to learn such practical matters? So why do we teach politics like it was a spectator sport? Because with politics understood as self-interested transactions, about all that's left to teach is how to keep score on government.

Another Concept of Politics: The Public's Work

Of course, part of politics does have to do with transactions among interest groups. If you want to influence the government, if you want to get a bill passed, if you want to get a candidate elected, the conventional model of politics that everyone knows about can be useful.

But the problem is not the politics we always hear about. The problem is that there is a part of politics we never hear about. While we talk every day about the politics of government, we rarely talk about the politics of the public. Yet without the public doing its work, government can't do its job.

There are some things that governments—even if they are working perfectly and run by angels—can never do. No government can create its own legitimacy. No government can create commonality. That is, governments can build common highways, but they cannot build common ground. Neither can governments create political will. The government can encourage us not to smoke and can encourage us to vote. Governments can even dominate a society. But no government can generate the political will that comes up from the grassroots.

Finally, no government, not even the very best government, can create citizens. Some of you know that the Kettering Foundation has an international as well as a domestic program. From it came a surprising illustration of this point. During our last round of the Dartmouth Conferences with the Soviets, a political philosopher named Murab Mamardashvily commented on something that would seldom occur to an American. The Soviets are trying to write a constitution with stronger laws about personal rights and responsibilities. But, he said, our problem is that we can't have a constitution without citizens. In other words, people cannot live by an abstract set of principles that has no meaning in their daily lives. In order for a constitution about the rights of citizens to be meaningful, there have to be people who live the lives of citizens every day.

Is there anybody who can imagine a political system operating without commonality, common ground, political will, and citizens? No one can. So what are the politics of getting these things done? That's the kind of politics we don't hear much about.

Other than in voting, we may not hear much about the public's role in politics these days, but our history is filled with all kinds of examples of public politics—of the public at work. Recall the country's first public institutions—town meetings. These little republics, Jefferson said, gave vigor to the Revolution and later made the big Republic possible. For nearly two hundred years before the Constitution, the public through countless public forums had been doing its work—the work of creating the legitimacy and purposes of a new form of government. The forums were places where people talked through the issues facing them, moving from private opinions to shared judgments. Through these experiences, truly American citizens were created——the John Adamses, who learned citizenship in the best schools for democracy, the town meetings themselves.

Civic Education for Public Work

The argument that I am making about public work as the necessary basis for civic education needs to be put in the context of the already established positions on what a better civic education requires. One position, well advertised these days, is that we must have a common knowledge of our political culture—that we all have to know certain names and dates and events. And it is necessary to be as politically literate as possible—to know about the Bill of Rights and people like John Locke and Thomas Jefferson. Another argument is that we have to teach not just the facts but the values implicit in our political heritage—justice and freedom and the like. Who would argue against the value of values? Still others think of civic education as requiring direct experience in some type of helpful activity: serving in a campaign or volunteering for a community activity. Certainly politics requires experience.

All of these notions of civic education have merit. But they don't speak to the question of how to teach people to be a part of a public and develop the skills necessary for the practice of "publicing." If we want to teach someone any other practical crafts, for example, to be a carpenter, we teach the skills of carpentry: nailing and sawing. Public politics equally requires practical skills. This is the heart of the argument: unless people are capable of doing the things that public politics requires, they cannot do politics any more than people who can't saw or nail can do carpentry.

As an example, take just one of the public's responsibilities: creating and defining common purposes. One skill required for arriving at common purposes is the ability to make common judgments. Making common or public judgments is difficult. But we know what skills are required.

Judgment as a Necessary Public Skill

In public politics, one of the central problems has to do with our different views of reality and our varied beliefs about what our communities ought to be. Reconciling these differences requires more than finding out what the facts are. Make no mistakes, facts are essential, but facts have different meanings to different people. What's more, specific facts don't give us a sense of the whole, of the connections and relationships that have to be understood in politics. And even when we know the facts as best we can, we still have to make the choices that politics requires. We have to consider more than just the facts about what is happening in our communities; we have to consider what *ought* to happen. In effect, we have to move beyond the realm of knowledge and enter the moral or ethical realm.

It's not enough to have a vague sense of what a community should be like—that justice is better than injustice, that equity is better than inequity, and so on. In any given political situation, we have to be specific. We have to sort out how general principles fit particular cases. For example, should we close the school in the south of town? Is it more equitable that the children in that section have access to a central school, or does the principle of equity mean that each part of town should have its own school? The core of political work is dealing with such uncertainty—not about the facts but about what *ought to be*. The awful dilemma of politics is that we have to decide even when we can never be certain.

When we can't know for certain, we opine. We say what we believe to be the case. Politics is very dependent on opining—on opinions. So the quality of opinions is crucial. What's important is how reflective and representative they are; that is, whether they are based on individual, first impressions, or on more considered and shared second thoughts which might be called judgments.

Judgment can be most fully understood if we think about it in relation to the quintessence of politics—uncertainty. Judgment is required most precisely when we don't have the luxury of certainty. We call on judgment most when we must deal with questions that can never be answered by logic and knowledge alone. We may know all the facts about MX missiles, but whether they are a wise investment of public funds depends on consideration that goes beyond the facts. For example, does national security require superior strength or deterrence? Or would we be better off in isolation? Everything depends on how good our judgments are on such questions.

Unfortunately, opinion, as we see it in polls, is time bound. It is like a snapshot of an avalanche. Judgment, on the other hand, is the product of reflection and deliberation not impression. It therefore has to be continuous, constantly adjusting itself as new perspectives are added to old ones. The purpose of judgment is to capture political realities never revealed in a snapshot.

There's another difference between forming individual opinions about particular issues and developing the capacity for shared or public judgments in a community. It is a critical difference which reveals the nature of the work involved in making judgments. Public judgment differs from mass opinion most in that it requires the integration rather than the aggregation of diverse points of view. As communities think and reflect together, as they begin to sort out their values and work through the choices before them, they develop new perspectives. By seeing things from more than one side, people see the whole differently.

For example, if a tornado had just ripped through town, the best way we could assess the damage would be to assemble groups of people who would survey various parts of town and then return to discuss what they had seen and learned. Any single story would give an inaccurate description, since a tornado would leave some areas untouched while demolishing others. By sharing our perceptions, we would find out the extent of the damage and perhaps even the tornado's path. In essence, we could see the storm as a whole.

While we've talked about the nature of public judgments, we haven't yet addressed how we should go about developing them. In order to form public judgments, people have to spend considerable time assessing the interrelations of their many interests and the long-term consequences of their policy options. They have to reflect on their experiences and deliberate over their choices. Being individually bright and logical is not enough.

Public judgment is comparable to artistic judgment. In neither case are there hard and fast rules of logic to follow. But in both cases, judgment can be informed and developed. To develop public judgments, we have to deliberate and reflect on our experience. That requires an array of intellectual skills, mental attitudes, and powers of imagination. In a democracy—not in the group-think of a collective mentality—we have to be able to compare our diverse perspectives and values. And we do that through public dialogue. A dialogue forces us to compare one perspective with another. And comparisons begin the process of synthesis, fitting individual perspectives together to arrive at a new, integrated sense of the whole.

In short, in a democracy we need the skill to be able to talk together in order to think together. Public thinking is not just analytical and logical; it requires us to explore together, to compare, to synthesize. If public politics requires such skills, surely the central task of a civic educator is to teach them. A student does not have to wait to be an adult to be part of the public dialogue, to learn to think with others, to learn how to make judgments about common purposes. Those of you who have adapted the National Issues Forums to the classroom, which are exercises in forming public judgments, report that students readily join in a national forum. And there is evidence from the use of these exercises that this kind of experience makes it easier for students to understand the concepts and values of our political culture. Not any experience, but a direct experience in doing public work seems to be essential to learning public skills.

Public Politics and the Future

The conventional model of politics was described earlier as a model for making decisions about the distribution of political "goods," for deciding who gets what, who wins and who loses. It is a politics for dividing pies. But what if there isn't a pie available to be divided? What if the political issue is whether there is enough common interest to make a pie? Increasingly, conventional politics may not be very useful because there isn't any pie to divide. In some of our inner cities, the question of who wins and loses is irrelevant because so many people have already lost. Even in international affairs we are now dealing with a set of questions in which there is a prospect not for some winners and some losers but for total loss. Who are the winners in nuclear war? The more fundamental question is whether there is enough common interest in finding alternatives.

The most basic political questions domestically and internationally are such questions of commonality. Is there a community of interests among us? Simply because we are in a common geographic boundary and a political area called a state does not mean that we are in a political community. And certainly sharing a planet together doesn't guarantee common interests. Yet the conventional politics of distribution suggests that a community of interests—a pie—already exists and that all we have to do is cut it up. So in conventional politics we spend a lot of time sharpening our knives. But if there is no pie, all we are likely to do with sharp knives is cut ourselves.

My guess is that the next generation is going to have to deal with questions of commonality, not just questions about the distribution of preexisting goods. That means the politics of transaction is going to have to give way to the politics of transformation. Why? Because a community of interests has to be created. People don't bump into one another and suddenly discover common interests in the way they discover common ancestors. Common interests are not self-evident. They don't begin to exist until people, through their sharing, create them.

For me, thinking about what work the public has to do instructs my understanding of what civic education has to do. But that is more than a dispassionate "academic" conclusion. Based on what I sense the future will require of politics, there is an educational imperative in sorting out what tasks, like creating common ground, are required in a diverse nation and an even more diverse world.

The Context of 21st-Century Civics and Citizenship

Harold Hodgkinson

This is a conference about the future of civic education, but it is hardly an occasion for futurism, and I am not a futurist in any event. Futurists do not have a very impressive record of accurate forecasting. If you were to re-read *Megatrends* (Naisbitt 1982) today, for example, you would find that about half of it has already been proved wrong. Futurists tend to intuit the future and rarely share the assumptions underlying their projections. Demographers, on the other hand, make projections about the future by looking very carefully at the present—far more carefully than most people are used to doing. In a very real way, the future leaves "footprints" in the present, and demography can be enormously helpful in finding and interpreting these footprints.

In recognition of its great utility, demography has been dubbed "the celestial mechanics of the social sciences" by Kenneth Boulding (1984). Put more modestly, demographic projections are better predictors than most. For example, one of the best predictors of the future adult population of a state is the current elementary school population, because kids grow up and become the adult population. A majority of California's elementary school students are currently minorities. Absent dramatic changes in in- or out-migration, we can predict with a high degree of confidence that by the year 2010, members of minority groups will constitute a majority of the adult population of California.

In considering civics and citizenship in the twenty-first century, we employ our demographic tools like radar, scanning the environment and then developing issues out of what we observe on our radar scopes. Detecting the "blips" is easy; figuring out what the blips represent is more complex. It is easy to misread class as race and race as class, for example, as we will see in more detail later. Similarly, national data can mask regional differences, regional data can mask state differences, and so on.

Nevertheless, cautiously employed, demographic analyses can help us to understand who the citizens of the twenty-first century will be and what some of the contours of their civic experience will look like. This knowledge, in turn, can be of great assistance in framing an educational agenda for the future.

Demographics and Civic Affairs

A simple demographic concept directly related to civics at the national level is population density. Population densities vary quite a bit from state to state and from region to region. The ten most populous states (California, New York, Texas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Florida, Michigan, New Jersey, and Massachusetts), for example, contain fully half of the nation's people. Viewed from a regional perspective, half of the population of the United States resides within the Eastern time zone, with an additional 30 percent located in the Central time zone. Although the country will continue to be dominated by Eastern and Midwestern regional values and densities for some time, the trend is clearly towards the South and the West. The "sunbelt" states stretching from North Carolina through Florida to Texas, Arizona, and California are racking up big increases in population, and these translate into political power in the form of seats gained in the United States House of Representatives.

The twenty-first century House of Representatives is likely to be different in a number of ways besides simply the relative apportionment of seats among states. The states of the South and the West that are gaining in population are doing so through two principal mechanisms: high minority fertility and immigration. Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians—not Caucasians—are fueling increases in population densities in these states. As we have already noted, California will be populated by a "minority majority" shortly after the turn of the century. At least nine other states will quickly follow suit. This development has implications for candidate profiles, issue agendas, and a variety of other civic concerns.

Another demographic trend of civic import concerns the growth of metropolitan areas. Development does not respect state boundaries. The largest metropolitan area in both Arkansas and Mississippi, for example, is Memphis, Tennessee. Similarly, the largest metropolitan area in Iowa is Omaha, Nebraska, while the largest in the state of Washington is Portland, Oregon.

The sprawl of metropolitan areas across state lines, moreover, is not confined to any given region. It is a national phenomenon. Segments of metropolitan areas in different states are in the difficult position of being economically interdependent but politically independent. This development represents a new twist on the concept of federalism and poses unique challenges to state governance and interstate relations.

Federalism, whereby the federal government and the states share power, is a fluid set of relationships. Historically, the balance of power has trended decidedly toward the federal side of the ledger. Recently, however, another shift has occurred that has gone virtually unnoticed. Nearly every candidate for national office runs against the "ever-expanding, bloated federal bureaucracy." It's a popular argument, except for the data. While the federal bureaucracy may be bloated, it is not ever-expanding. Indeed, the number of federal workers has held steady at roughly 3 million since

1952. During the same period, state workers have increased in number from 1 million to 4 million, with much of the increase representing employees of state university systems, which expanded rapidly after World War II. The real explosion in government personnel has occurred at the *local* level, which has expanded from 3 million to over 10 million employees. These are the people who administer the myriad federal and state programs providing services to citizens. A profound change in bureaucracy occurred at the local level as we geared up to administer the Great Society programs of the 1960s, and yet the change has gone virtually undetected. Federalism is still viewed largely as a dual, federal-state relationship rather than as a federal-state-local triad.

Two very large constituencies for government programs and services are the dependent young and the dependent elderly, and we are now approaching parity in their numbers. The United States is a rapidly aging nation. At the present time, there are more than 2.2 million people past the age of eighty-five and 24 million past sixty-five. The former cohort is the most rapidly growing age group in American society. The latter, for the first time, came to outnumber teenagers as of 1983. The political consequences of the graying of America will be momentous.

Intergenerational conflict is quite likely. Dependent youth require costly educational services. Dependent elderly require costly medical services. In the early 1900s, there were eight children needing education for each elderly person. Today, there are two elderly people in need of services for each child in school. Since the elderly have completed their educations (as have their children), their interest in educational issues will likely have little to do with their perceptions of self-interest. In a conflict over resources, it seems a foregone conclusion that HeadStart would fare badly against Medicare, for example.

Shortly after the year 2000, the 70 million people constituting the Baby Boom will begin to retire and draw Social Security benefits. When the system was initiated, seventeen workers supported the benefits of each retiree. The current ratio of workers to retirees is 3.4 to 1, and declining, putting tremendous pressure on the Social Security system. As we move into the twenty-first century, an aging white workforce will be dependent upon an increasingly minority workforce to support them. Of the 20 million new people added to the workforce between now and the year 2000, 82 percent will be a combination of female, minorities, and immigrants. Intergenerational conflict may thus have ethnic overtones as well. The civic consequences of demographic change are by no means confined to the United States. All of the NATO countries have experienced major birthrate declines in the last few decades. As a result, the West, which accounted for 30 percent of the world's population at the end of the nineteenth century, accounts for only 14 percent today and will represent only 8 percent of the world's population by the year 2025. Cast somewhat differently, only 18 percent of the current population of the world is white, and this figure is declining as nine out of ten children are born in developing nations.

The world of the twenty-first century will be post-European in several senses. In terms of trade, European dominance will continue to decline as both the absolute and relative size of European markets shrink. As middle classes develop in the Third World, the significance of these markets will naturally increase. Only 7 percent of the current population of India is middle class, but it must be remembered that 7 percent of India constitutes a market larger than the entire population of France. As markets are becoming more global, so are corporate strategies for capturing them. International corporate alliances, whereby companies from a variety of countries share specialized expertise and engage in cooperative ventures, are becoming increasingly common. Some six hundred such alliances transcending national divisions exist at present. Their continued growth may represent a considerable force promoting world stability, as economic communities of interest bridge political, cultural, and other differences between nations. In terms of the cultural heritage of the United States, the post-European era will arrive at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Shortly after the year 2000, the dominant background of Americans will be non-European. If we go back to the grandparent level, most Americans will be descended from Americans, South and Central Americans, and Asians. The currently popular perspective of Europe as the only "true" origin of American culture, literature, and values is debatable to begin with, and certainly increasingly inaccurate. The history, traditions, and values of Asia and the Third World are becoming more and more relevant to the evolving culture of the United States.

The Demography of 21st-Century Citizens

As we have seen, simple demographic concepts such as population density and age can tell us a great deal about the context of twenty-first century citizenship. Much can also be learned about the students who will receive citizenship training in the schools. Indeed, the student profile may have a profound effect on the nature and scope of the training that should be provided by schools. In this section, we will look at demographic projections in terms of four major concepts: fertility, region, race, and immigration. We will then try to pull our profile of the citizens of the twenty-first century together and evaluate its implications for the nation's schools.

Fertility

As a general rule, women must produce 2.1 children each in order for a population to be stable: one child to replace Mom, one child to replace Dad, and .1 to cover the effects of infant mortality. The most important single fact about demographics in the United States is the decline in white fertility from 2.9 per female during the baby boom to the current rate of 1.7. Today, 50 million women are producing fewer children than 33 million women did during the baby boom. Although the decline in white fertility has not been mentioned in any of the dozens of commission reports concerning the state of education in the 1980s, the dramatic change it has wrought in student profiles is a major factor contributing to the apparent crisis in American public education.

There are three major factors underlying the precipitous decline in white fertility. First, marriage has declined in popularity. There are currently millions of single people of marriageable age in the country, but they are not getting married. Single people produce relatively few children. Second, of those who *are* marrying, a significant proportion are predicating their marriages on not having children, or are at least deferring childbearing to a point where only one or two children are likely. Finally, unlike the baby boom years, a majority of women are now in the workforce. And conflicts between maternal and career aspirations are being resolved in favor of the latter. Many working couples prefer the benefits of being "DINKS" (double income, no kids) to the rewards of parenthood.

Despite these trends, because of the extraordinarily large cohort of women of childbearing age, there has been a small increase in the number of births recently. Between 1980 and 1984 there was a 9 percent national increase in the number of children under five years of age. This national figure, however, masks significant regional variations. The increases in the Northeast and Midwest were 5 percent and 2 percent, respectively. In the South and West they were 11 and 17 percent. Indeed, 73 percent of the overall increase occurred in just five states (Texas, California, Florida, North Carolina, and Arizona), all of which have high minority birthrates.

The "Norman Rockwell family," composed of a housewife mother, working father, and two school-age children, is an endangered species. With 70 percent of children having working mothers, and given the decline in white birthrates, it is not surprising that only 7 percent of U.S. households currently match this profile. In the absence of a mass exodus of women from the workforce and a major increase in white fertility, the chances of this form of family organization re-emerging seem quite remote.

Another major fertility trend is reflected in the burgeoning number of children raised by a single parent. Overwhelmingly, single parents are female, and many of them lack significant job skills and access to employment training. Accordingly, it should be no surprise that the "new poverty" among children is primarily a result of having a single parent. An unprecedented 24 percent of all children are living below the federal poverty level. A variety of factors (e.g., divorce, abandonment) contribute to the increased incidence of single-parent families, but one of the most troubling is teenage pregnancy. Although there were far fewer teenage births in 1985 than in 1970 (478,000 v. 650,000), in 1970 seven out of ten teen births occurred within the context of a marriage, albeit frequently a last-minute marriage. In 1985, the majority of teen births occurred outside of marriages, resulting in further increases in single-parent families and exacerbating youth poverty.

A final trend of note is the increased production and diagnosis of children with physical or emotional handicaps. Mainstreaming, medical advances increasing the survival rates of very premature babies (often at the cost of permanent learning impairment), and family instability are all factors contributing to this growing challenge to the nation's schools. The increased prevalence of two-income families may also be a factor bearing on the emotional health of today's children. According to the American Chicle Youth Poll (1987), fear of kidnaping is the single greatest matter of concern to young people, far outdistancing nuclear war, AIDS, pollution, and divorce. Not surprisingly, this fear is particularly common among "latchkey" children.

The trends we have noted in this section stand out in vivid relief because of one overriding development: the decline of white fertility. If white birth rates were still at the baby boom level of 2.9 per female, no proportionate increase in minority children would be observed except for the influence of immigration.

Region

As we have already noted in some respects, different parts of the country are becoming more unlike in meaningful ways, and it is important to account for these differences in the educational policy-making process. National enrollment trends, for example, mask substantial state variations (see Figure 1). Change in Maryland is in the same direction as at the national level, but at a generally much higher rate. Trends in Arizona run counter to both. A national education policy tailored to the situation in Arizona may be entirely inappropriate to Maryland. Moreover, within individual states there may be substantial city, county, and community variations. When making decisions about schools, one must be very sensitive to such potential differences.

Figure 1
School Enrollment Trends*

		1970	1982	Percent Change
U.S. Total	K-12	45,909,000	39,643,000	-14
	9-12	13,332,000	12,501,000	-6
	K-8	32,577,000	27,143,000	-17
Maryland	K-12	916,000	699,000	-24
	9-12	252,000	237,000	-6
	K-8	664,000	462,000	-30
Arizona	K-12	440,000	510,000	+ 16
	9-12	126,000	151,000	+ 20
	K-8	314,000	359,000	+ 14

* Source: *The Condition of Education*, p. 16.

When we compare states with the best high school retention rates to those with the lowest, some interesting patterns emerge (see Figure 2). Are the top ten states blessed with better teachers or are they willing to invest more money in education? No. The pattern reflects the fact that these states have small cities and towns, small schools, low classroom densities, little ethnic diversity, and few ghettos. These factors (as well as an inhospitable climate during much of the school year) are all related to better retention. Because most of these states are in the Midwest, which as we have seen is a low-fertility area, their influence at the national level will diminish over time.

Figure 2
High School Retention Rates*

	The Top Ten			**The Bottom Ten**	
	State	**Percent**		**State**	**Percent**
1.	Minnesota	86.0	41.	California	68.0
2.	North Dakota	84.9	42.	Kentucky	67.3
3.	Iowa	84.8	43.	Alabama	67.1
4.	South Dakota	82.8	44.	North Carolina	67.1
5.	Wisconsin	82.3	45.	Tennessee	66.7
6.	Nebraska	81.3	46.	New York	65.9
7.	Montana	80.9	47.	Georgia	64.3
8.	Kansas	80.5	48.	Florida	63.7
9.	Utah	80.2	49.	Louisiana	63.4
10.	Wyoming	80.0	50.	Mississippi	61.8

* Source: *All One System*, p. 11.

The states with the lowest retention rates also share some interesting characteristics. With but two exceptions, California and New York, these are Southern states. More importantly, these states tend to have very high levels of poverty. Poverty is a much better predictor of student performance than is race. These states also tend to have high fertility and immigration rates, so their impact on national data will increase over time.

Immigration and Race

In the 1920s, there were about 14 million immigrants in the United States. Almost all of them came from Europe. Today, there are nearly 15 million immigrants in the country, and four out of five come from South America and Asia. The new immigrants represent an incredible diversity. They speak a wide variety of languages. Many arrive with no formal education; however, one out of three Asians has a college degree. Although the use of the terms "Asian" and "Hispanic" implies otherwise, there is great cultural diversity within these communities as well. Koreans and

Japanese, for example, are "Asians," but their cultures are vastly different and their relations are embedded in historic conflict.

The extreme heterogeneity of today's school-age youth represents a major challenge to our educational system. Nor is this challenge likely to abate any time soon. Fully two-thirds of the world's immigrants gravitate to the United States. Given continued repression and civil war in Asia and South America and the prospect of relaxed emigration policies by the Soviet Union, it is likely that immigration will continue at a high level for some years to come.

Immigration is one of the primary ways in which minorities are increasing their presence in the United States. A major component of the recent advance in youth numbers is accounted for by immigration. Although Mexican-American (2.9) and black (2.4) fertility rates are above the replacement level of 2.1 children per female, these population gains are more than offset by the decline in white fertility. Without immigration, the overall population of the United States would not have increased during the last decade.

Increasing minority populations would present an even greater challenge to schools were it not partially offset by changes in the economic circumstances of minorities. In the past, *minority* almost automatically meant *poor*, especially when the minority in question was blacks. Fortunately, this is no longer the case. Although minority poverty is still a problem, the black and Hispanic communities have developed substantial middle classes, and they are continuing to grow. This is an important fact to note, because minority children from middle class backgrounds perform like white middle class children. We now know that given the opportunity, youth from all ethnic backgrounds can realize their potential.

Paradoxically, although high school completion rates for all major ethnic groups improved from 1976 to 1986, black and Hispanic college-going rates have declined, according to the American Council on Education's *Seventh Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education* (1989). Especially worrisome is the alarming decline in the participation of black males, whose college enrollment decreased 7.2 percent over the decade. While American elementary and secondary schools are increasingly populated by minority students, the ranks of minority teachers have dropped from 12 to 9 percent. With black and Hispanic college-going rates in decline, this trend will almost certainly continue. It may also contribute to further accelerating the downward spiral in college-going rates. Assessing the impact of the declining number of black schoolteachers on black males' academic attainment is therefore a very important research agenda for the future.

Conclusion

Whether it be a particular curriculum or education policy in general, we can't plan for tomorrow without taking a close look at who it is we are planning for. The foregoing analyses and projections provide a reasonably good portrait of the students of the twenty-first century and what we need to accomplish with them.

Melding our fertility and immigration data, it is clear that our future will be steadily more minority and less white. Shortly after the turn of the century, one out of three adult American citizens will be non-white. At the level of the schools, the most conservative projection (that positing the least ethnic diversity) estimates that 48 percent of students will be minorities. Already, the thirty largest public school systems in the nation are populated by "minority majorities." The schools of three states (New Mexico, Mississippi, and Hawaii) are also at this juncture, and an additional five states (California, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, and Texas) currently feature minority enrollments of more than 40 percent. Were the United States still a youth-oriented society, the prospects of marshaling the resources necessary for the schools to serve the variety of ancillary missions we seem to expect (daycare, recreation, etc.) while successfully meeting pressing educational challenges might seem bright. We are no longer a youth-oriented society, however. We are a rapidly aging society faced with difficult resource allocation choices. One may well be between education and health care. Given the increasing size and historically high voter turnout of people over fifty-five, it seems unlikely that intergenerational conflicts will be resolved in favor of the young.

The schools of the twenty-first century face the challenge of educating future citizens within the context of an entirely new order of pluralism. More than ever before, these students will be characterized by poverty, native languages other than English, physical and emotional handicaps, and ethnic and cultural diversity. Astonishingly, despite these inevitabilities, our present concern is with tightening standards for educational outcomes, rather than taking steps to ensure that every child has a reasonable chance of attaining them.

Demographically, it is the wrong time to orient our schools toward serving as screening mechanisms. We need schools that *create* winners, not simply schools that *pick* winners. Our goal should be to make sure that every child succeeds in school. As I concluded in a recent article for *Educational Leadership* (1988), "When students are plentiful, we can just pick the best. But when students are scarce, we need them all to do well. They are too important to fail."

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Part Two:

Government, Political Science, and Civics

Introduction to Part Two

William T. Callahan, Jr.

The foundation underlying traditional civics courses is government, not political science. The distinction is important, because it is at the root of many of the shortcomings of civic education. The study of governmental institutions and structures is but one narrow slice of a much broader discipline, but it has thoroughly dominated the content of civics curricula. Concerned, thoughtful, active citizens certainly need a basic understanding of governmental structures and functions, but the discipline of political science has much more than "road maps" to offer to civic education.

The behavioral revolution, for example, has had a profound impact on the discipline of political science, but its concepts and insights have barely impinged upon secondary-level civics instruction. But for a brief flurry of interest during the "New Social Studies" era of the 1960s, the newer, scientific aspect of the discipline has been largely ignored in favor of the institutional-structural approach (Schneider 1989). As manifested in traditional civics courses, this approach focuses on governmental structures, functions, and relationships, principally at the federal level and usually is guided by the provisions of the U.S. Constitution. It is essentially a descriptive approach, and one that is far from comprehensive even within its own narrow confines.

Through a brief analysis of one week's news appearing on television and in a national newspaper, Dr. Michael Nelson demonstrates how a "media literacy" approach can enrich civics instruction. Information is the *sine qua non* of opinion formation, decision making, and civic action, and news media are the principal conduits of information. The manner in which students learn to utilize the media promises to continue uninterrupted into adulthood. Hence, teaching students to be intelligent newspaper readers and television news watchers provides them with a civic skill they can use throughout their lives. Conversely, failure to acquire media literacy as a student is a major obstacle to successful civic participation as an adult. As Dr. Nelson points out, television and print journalism have distinct limitations as information sources. Their biases and limitations need to be recognized and accounted for if citizens are to utilize them intelligently.

Further, organizing the study of government and politics around the "real thing" holds the promise of breathing life back into a moribund, descriptive curriculum. Exposure to the news can drive an interest in learning how government institutions and processes work. The abstract process of how a bill becomes a law comes alive when an actual bill is followed through the legislative labyrinth. In like manner, the connections between politics and daily life are readily illuminated through the news media. Apparently dull and distant topics such as regulation of the insurance industry, for example, gain immediacy when students learn that the stakes include their athletic programs and extracurricular activities, which are threatened by escalating liability insurance costs.

In addition, the news media respect neither national nor disciplinary boundaries. They mirror reality in all of its complexity and in so doing lead students to the inescapable conclusion that real life problems are interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary in nature. The study of news media is thus ideally suited for incorporation into the Our Democracy civics curriculum. Similarly, while the traditional curriculum reinforces the artificial separation of political and non-political matters, the media underscore the pervasiveness of government and politics in daily life.

Because it holds the prospect of making citizenship education more interesting and useful for students, the media literacy approach advocated by Dr. Nelson has great appeal. But it leaves us unsure of the specific content from political science to include in an effective multidisciplinary civics curriculum. Therefore, while generally approving of the potential of news media as engaging instructional tools, F. Chris Garcia is compelled in his response to elaborate considerably on appropriate content.

F. Chris Garcia advocates going beyond simple media literacy to develop students' political competence through the teaching of concept-related skills. These are discipline-based skills which are both immediately applicable and generalizable to adult citizenship activities. As such, they provide an ideal vehicle for resolving the twin dilemmas of remote subject matter and future utility that have plagued civic education historically.

Dr. Garcia agrees with Nelson that students should be taught to look to the media for reports of general processes in operation but points out that political phenomena are even closer at hand. Schools themselves feature many of the processes and concepts that must be understood for civic competence in the larger community. Conceptualizing the school as a political system, Dr. Garcia argues, provides a convenient and effective means of simulating adult civic behavior and building political understanding and competence. Using the internal reality of the school as a political community in combination with the external reality of the media can provide students with a more complete and realistic civic education than is provided either by traditional civics courses or by a media literacy approach alone.

Dr. Garcia suggests focusing on powerful concepts from the discipline of political science, such as power, authority, influence, persuasion, representation, and mobilization. Approached through such concepts, the study of American government and politics comes alive as institutions and structures are explicated. Moreover, since these concepts are represented both in and out of government, civic education can be more readily linked to the lives and experiences of students. This facilitates both interest and learning.

Both Dr. Nelson and Dr. Garcia addressed the problem of traditional civics courses that tend to emphasize facts to the exclusion of concepts and to avoid controversial issues and tensions between institutions. Dynamic processes are conveyed through static descriptions and become lifeless in the process. Basic constitutional principles and major developments in constitutional history, for example, are covered but the values and processes which have emerged from the Constitution to shape our society, such as due process and equal protection, are given short shrift (Carroll et al. 1983). Extra-constitutional institutions, such as interest groups and mass media, are rarely treated at all.

The focus on facts and dull descriptions of the structure of government often has a potent impact on students. Although teenagers express an interest in talking about politics at home (Hepburn 1989), they don't see the subject as it is presented in school as being pertinent to their daily lives. Young adolescents are very much "here and now" oriented, but most civics content is "there and then" oriented. Connections between the curriculum and the real world, both present and future, are not made explicit. Accordingly, it is not surprising that many students see learning government and politics as a matter of memorizing information that has little, if any, personal meaning or lasting significance (Lounsbury 1988).

The substance of civic education usually appears remote and distant from the lives of students. Linking the substance of civic education to both the current and future lives of young adolescents is a challenge frequently unmet in the traditional civics curriculum but one which was central to both conference presentations. To attract and hold their attention, connections between the curriculum and students' lives need to be demonstrated. An eighth- or ninth-grade civics course is generally several years removed from the actual practice of citizenship. The knowledge, skills, and values with which we seek to endow our children are typically bestowed well in advance of their utility.

The papers by Michael Nelson and F. Chris Garcia stimulated very lively discussions centering on three issues: the use of television as an instructional tool, conceptualizing the school as a political system, and specifying political content for the integrated civics curriculum. Not surprisingly, the discussion of television was the most emotionally charged. Although there was widespread (but grudging) agreement that media literacy is a necessary condition for responsible citizenship, the conferees were not at all sanguine about enlarging the role of television in the curriculum. On one level, concern was expressed about the episodic character of information transmitted via television. Enlarging upon the impressions it gives to students constitutes a major challenge for the civic educator. On another level, great apprehension was voiced that organizing a citizenship curriculum around television could have an effect entirely the opposite than is intended. Democratic citizenship is not meant to be a spectator sport, but television's one-way transmission of information could easily turn it into one. How to translate the acquisition of televised data into active citizenship skills was a widely discussed, but unresolved, question during conference deliberations.

Dr. Garcia's notion of conceptualizing the school as a political system was attractive in the abstract, but some of its implications raised serious questions among conferees. Dr. Garcia's vision is decidedly participatory in nature. Students are not simply to observe the school as a political community, but to actually engage in civic activity within the school. The idea of "unleashing" students to question and oppose school authority, rally support among fellow students, etc., was not appealing to many conferees. Although some concern revolved around the consequences of student activism for their teachers, the main concern expressed was for the students' learning experience. Most schools are not microcosms of American society. Few are organized democratically. The frustration that results from the failure of democratic mechanisms to bring about change in anti-democratic contexts could undermine students' self-esteem and political efficacy and ultimately produce alienated and withdrawn, rather than confident and active, adult citizens.

Least contentious, but nevertheless problematic, was discussion of appropriate political content for the integrated civics curriculum. In order to cope with the demands of modern citizenship, students require access to a variety of analytic tools and disciplinary perspectives. The conferees recognized that devising a civics curriculum that draws upon the political, economic, legal, and social domains to provide them with a broad, integrative education is a challenging task. Not only must the content be developmentally appropriate for the students who will be exposed to it, it must also be substantively appropriate to the goal of fostering thoughtful and active citizenship behavior. Moreover, since content from the economic, legal, and social systems must be blended with treatment of the political system, the scope of content from the domain of government must necessarily be scaled back in favor of the most powerful concepts, essential knowledge, and practical civic skills to be gained from the discipline of political science.

Rather less obvious to the conferees was the matter of which specific concepts should be selected for inclusion. There was general agreement that the global concepts mentioned by Dr. Garcia were a good point of departure but did [illegible] constitute an exhaustive enumeration. In the end, the conferees did not settle on a parsimonious list of essential concepts from the domain of political science, but they did offer two suggestions regarding the task. First, it was suggested that an attempt be made to uncover conceptual synergies across all four systems. Their discovery would greatly facilitate multidisciplinary content integration and the creation of a truly holistic civic education curriculum.

Second, the caution was offered that, in this process, sight not be lost of outside expectations. One of the main themes of the contemporary educational reform movement has been an increasing reliance on standardized tests to measure students' competence. Descriptive curricula, such as the traditional civics course, go hand-in-hand with measures based on questions with clearly defined, correct answers. Unfortunately, while neither has much to do with the preparation of students for the active exercise of democratic citizenship, failure to accommodate this reality could doom the new curriculum, regardless of its other merits.

The conferees thought strongly that descriptive approaches strip government and politics of their essential and most interesting characteristics: ambiguity, uncertainty, and fluidity. Political issues and problems generally do not have fixed "right" and "wrong" answers. Opinions are based on information filtered through values, which often conflict. Opinions are transformed into public judgments and political decisions in the cauldron of discussion, debate, deliberation, and compromise. The outcomes are uncertain, the process evolutionary. Skills such as critical analysis and reflective inquiry are therefore integral to civic participation. Descriptive information about governmental institutions alone is of little practical value.

Disappointing results on standardized tests of civic knowledge provide fodder for reformers' salvos at all levels of the education community, but otherwise serve no purpose. The conferees agreed that knowing the "right" answers is *no* answer to the crisis in citizenship which we confront as a nation. Would perfect test scores improve the civic behavior of our youngest citizens? Would those citizens be more likely to vote? Would their reflective and critical capacities improve? It seems highly unlikely that students treated as passive observers and memorizers of disparate facts "would on their own translate these facts into significant conceptual understandings about democratic governance or be convinced there is an urgent need for their active participation" (Longstreet 1989). Balancing the testable civic knowledge by which reformers judge the effectiveness of citizenship education programs with the practical skills requisite to the active exercise of citizenship, the conferees agreed, is perhaps the greatest challenge confronting the Our Democracy project.

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A Future for Civic Education

Michael Nelson

Civic education in the secondary schools has a number of important purposes, notably to impart (1) an understanding of the American constitutional system, (2) an active awareness of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, (3) a tolerance for those with whom one disagrees, (4) an appreciation of those who are different, and (5) an understanding of the world beyond the borders of the United States. I will not, in this paper, dwell on or even refer to all of these purposes, but my neglect of a topic should be taken as no measure of my regard for its continuing importance to Americans in the remaining years of the twentieth century and beyond.

I will, however, take note that civic educators face several especially difficult challenges in accomplishing the many and varied purposes that are pressed upon them. Like those who teach English, history, and other academic subjects, the substance of what civic educators teach may seem remote from the daily concerns and activities of most students. But like those who teach shorthand, auto mechanics, and computer programming, civic educators are teaching a set of applied skills—in this case, the skills of citizenship in a democratic society. The challenge is to train students for activities that are, for the most part, several years in the future.

Another challenge that civic educators face is to teach about politics and government in what the political scientist Harold Lasswell has called both its "manipulative" and its "contemplative" modes. In a democratic society, students must be taught how to participate in politics in ways that will effectively influence the government to respond to their own interests and to their conception of the public interest (which is what Lasswell meant by "manipulative"). But they also must be taught to "contemplate" politics—to understand how the political system works and how it affects and can be affected by them.

To meet the challenges of secondary education for democratic citizenship requires that civic educators define (or, in the painful jargon of the social sciences, "operationalize") the challenges in ways that promise to be both useful and interesting to students. In this paper, I will argue that one especially useful and, I think, interesting way to do so would be to teach students to be intelligent newspaper readers and television news watchers.

This definition of purpose has several advantages. First, it promises to teach students in a way that can bridge their current and future lives.

The news media are readily available to students and always will be. Habits formed and techniques developed in school promise to continue unchanged into adulthood. Second, newspapers and television are not just teaching aids; they are the "real thing." Whatever level of civic activity students may rise to as adults, they will always have to rely on the news media for information.

Third, the news media are a subject that has to be taught in order to be understood well. As important as newspapers and television are to a democratic society, they seldom provide the background, perspective, or context necessary to make sense of the information they provide their readers and viewers. Typically, the daily news media describe the waves, not the ocean underneath—what is "new" since yesterday, not what is constant or evolving. They emphasize controversy, not consensus—not because (as is commonly charged) editors and reporters prefer bad news to good, but because they (and their audiences) seem to prefer excitement to calm. Less wittingly, the news media use terms and make references in their stories that are well known to journalists but unknown to or dimly understood by their readers and viewers. Therefore, to teach students to be intelligent newspaper readers and watchers of television news is to fill a real gap in our political system.

Finally, the ability to discern how the system works is prerequisite to effective citizen participation in politics and government. The American constitutional system that was created at the Philadelphia convention of 1787 fragments power among the national government, fifty state governments, and literally thousands of local governments as well as among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches at each of these three levels. If that were not complicated enough, public institutions have become ever more varied and diverse during the two centuries that have passed since the Constitution was written, with the rise of executive bureaucracies at home and ever greater interdependence between the United States and foreign governments abroad. The citizen who wishes to "plug into" the political system on an issue of personal concern confronts a challenge not unlike that faced by the first-day-on-the-job telephone operator at an old style hotel switchboard. Not just the news media, but the governments they cover must be decipherable if citizens are to make sense of this complexity.

Goals

What does it mean to say that someone is an intelligent consumer of the news media? What does teaching students to make sense of what they read in the newspapers and see on television involve?

First, students need to have enough understanding of how the basic institutions and processes of the American political system work so that when they see or read stories about the day's events, they have some framework in which to place those stories. A newspaper or television account of a bill going into a House-Senate conference committee, for example, will mean little to the student who is unaware of the main elements of the legislative process.

Obviously, students are not going to get the kind of background information they need to make sense of the news from the news itself. That information is contained in books, videotapes, and other materials of the traditional civics curriculum. But to the extent that students are stimulated to learn about the legislative process by trying to understand what is actually happening with a real, contemporary bill that they are reading and hearing about in the news, they may succeed better than if they are taught "how a bill becomes a law" in the abstract.

Second, students should be taught to see the connection between news events and daily life—both how the news affects them, their families, and their communities and how they can affect the events that make news. What could be a duller subject for students than, say, state regulation of the insurance industry? Duller, that is, until the escalating costs of liability insurance threaten the high school's ability to field a football team.

Third, civic educators should help students to recognize the limitations of the news media. The familiar charge of many media critics is that newspapers and television have a political bias. (Some say it is a conservative bias, others a liberal bias.) Less arguably, the news media offer less than full coverage of topics such as international affairs and the lives of the poor in our own society. In addition to these limits to the breadth of newspaper and television coverage, there are limits to the depth of their coverage; namely, the amount of information that is presented in a story. Some of these limits are inherent in daily news media—the point for civic educators is not necessarily to criticize newspapers and television as much as it is to teach students to be sensitive to the limitations of the information they are receiving.

Fourth, students in the classroom should be brought into physical contact with newspapers and television. They and their teachers should work not just with textbook examples but with the day's actual morning newspaper and videotapes of the preceding evening's network news program. Learning to become an intelligent newspaper reader and watcher of television news is a skill that students can develop and master in no better way than by doing.

Method

In order to convey some sense of what civic education through classroom study of the news media might involve, I gathered and reviewed a recent week's editions of a newspaper and a network news program to discover some themes that could be developed in the classroom. No elaborate (or even primitive) statistical analysis was performed. I simply read the papers and watched the news with an eye toward discerning what sorts of stories appeared most frequently, how adequately they were covered, and what limitations in media coverage seemed endemic. The purpose was to devise some early suggestions about what topics a civics curriculum that made use of the media in the classroom might include.

The Week

The week was 29 August to 2 September 1988. Like any other week, it was not "typical." One thing that made this particular week atypical was that the three constitutional branches of the federal government were for the most part dormant—the president was on vacation in California, the Supreme Court had not yet returned from its summer adjournment, and Congress was in the midst of one of its extended "district work periods." Two major airplane crashes demoted political news to second place during the week (although both crashes had political aspects). Surprisingly, though, the newspaper and television news program still were full of stories about government and politics, a phenomenon that could be explained only partly by the general election campaigns for president and Congress that already were well underway.

The Media

"NBC Nightly News" was the evening television news program I watched. For several years, a substantial plurality of Americans has told pollsters that they receive most of their news from television. Recently, NBC has had the most highly rated of the three network evening news programs, although by a much smaller plurality. "Nightly News" is not substantially different from its rivals on the other two networks, "CBS Evening News" and "ABC World News Tonight."

The newspaper I read, although only in part, was *USA Today*. Of the general interest newspapers that are distributed nationwide, it has the largest circulation, around 1.8 million. (*The Wall Street Journal*, a business-oriented newspaper, still sells more copies.) More significant, perhaps, is the strong influence that *USA Today* has had on other newspapers that are published around the country. This is apparent not just in the increased use that state and local newspapers now are making of colorful weather maps and detailed sports statistics, but also in the new emphasis on tightly written news stories, "positive news," extensive use of public opinion polls, and pictorial presentations of statistical data.

The part of *USA Today* on which I concentrated was the front page and what the newspaper calls the "second front page" (page 3 of the first section). This was for the sake of manageability, not from any pretense of comprehensiveness. The other pages of the front section also are dominated by news of politics and government at the national, international, state, and local levels. These include a page called "Newsmakers," which offers brief news items on both political and nonpolitical public figures, "Electionline," "Washington and the World," "Across the USA" (brief items from each state and a comparative state story called "Statesline"), and the editorial and op-ed pages. Stories relevant to a civics curriculum also appear in the newspaper's "Money" section. The 30 August edition, for example, included coverage of Department of Treasury bill sales, corporate lawsuits to which the U.S. government was a party, the settlement of a price-gouging fine from the 1970s between the Department of Energy and Texaco, trade discussions between the United States and Japan, and Department of Commerce figures on home sales. On 29 August, a story appeared in the "Life" section that described the television networks' decision to shrink their programming standards divisions in view of the Federal Communications Commission's increasingly laissez-faire policy toward the broadcast industry.

One powerful limitation on any analysis of the news media that is based solely on "NBC Nightly News" and *USA Today* is that these are national media. More people watch local television news than the network news, and many more people read state and local newspapers than read national newspapers. These local newspapers and television stations, quite naturally, pay much closer attention to politics and government at the state and local level than do the national media.

Relevant Themes in Media Coverage

What themes emerged from my reading (or watching) and reflecting on one week's editions of *USA Today* and the "NBC Nightly News" that may be of interest to civic educators who see the value in trying to teach students to become intelligent newspaper readers and television news watchers? A few, whose purpose is to be suggestive rather than comprehensive, are listed and discussed below.

The Political Aspects of Nonpolitical News

Citizens and the news media themselves often draw a distinction between political and nonpolitical news. Political news involves governments, politicians, treaties, bills, protests, issues, and the like. Nonpolitical news is everything else—natural disasters, human interest stories, sports, culture, and so on.

Few news stories are completely nonpolitical, however. Indeed, some that may seem to be that way turn out on closer inspection to be primarily political. For example, one of the main news stories during the week of 29 August to 2 September (it was the lead story in the Monday issue of *USA Today* and the two top stories on that night's edition of the "NBC Nightly News") was the crash of three Italian air force precision-flying jets in an air show at a U.S. military base in West Germany. Media coverage emphasized the crash itself and the resulting deaths of forty-six spectators. But underlying the crash story were several political themes: West German resentment of low-flying U.S. military training missions over that country's soil, disagreement between the West German defense minister and the U.S. ambassador to West Germany regarding the continuance of air shows, U.S. military use of air shows to attract enlistments to the armed services, criticism by an American admiral of air shows as wasteful of time and money, and assurances by the Federal Aviation Administration that air shows in the United States are closely regulated for safety. One brief story on the aftermath of the crash in Tuesday's *USA Today* mentioned three U.S. government agencies and three national governments.

Another illustration of the political aspects of seemingly nonpolitical stories was the Florida lottery. The news media's spotlight was concentrated on the record-setting $54 million that would go to the person with the winning ticket. Only passing attention was given to the fact that lotteries are controversial state-run programs that raise revenue through voluntary participation by mainly poor and working class people. Similar treatment was given to another story: the devastating fires that were sweeping national parks in the western United States were covered mainly as natural disaster stories, although some mention was made in both *USA Today* and "NBC Nightly News" of complaints about the National Park Service's policy of letting "natural" fires burn themselves out with little human intervention.

Civics curricula traditionally have reinforced the often artificial separation between political and nonpolitical matters. A challenge for civic educators is to show students how pervasive the presence of politics and government is in public and even private life. The use of newspapers and television in the classroom offers an especially effective vehicle for doing so. One reward for those who make the effort: to the extent that students perceive that public affairs are not divorced from matters of more immediate concern to them, they are more likely to see the value in civic education.

Politics and Daily Life

To see the political aspects of presumptively nonpolitical news is, inevitably, to see the presence of politics and government in daily life. Awareness of the pervasiveness of politics is important not just to increase students' understanding of the world they live in, but also to engage their interest.

A few examples:

1. A story in Monday's *USA Today* referred to the frustration that leaders and residents of several big cities were feeling over not having cable television. The story quoted representatives of a cable interest group and of the National League of Cities on the political obstacles they are facing in their efforts to "wire" the cities.
2. A splendid report on the Monday edition of "NBC Nightly News" chronicled personal and political reactions to street begging. Several cities have passed laws against aggressive panhandling. Police in Nashville, Tennessee go undercover to keep street beggars away from tourists.
3. On Thursday, NBC described a new law concerning check clearing by banks that had gone into effect that day. The purpose of the

law was to require banks to grant customers quick access to money they deposit in their accounts by check.

4. Friday's *USA Today* reported on the changing policy of several southern state governments toward amateur hunting of alligators.

A common finding of all studies of voting is that young voters participate at a much lower rate than older voters. Because they are not taxpayers or parents (or so one explanation of this phenomenon has it) they do not yet see the intimate connection between their personal lives and the activities of government. To the extent that civic educators can make students aware of those connections, they may help to remedy the turnout gap.

Schools and Politics

Yet another connecting thread that civic educators, using the daily media of journalism, can help students draw between themselves and the world of politics and government concerns the schools. During the week of 29 August to 2 September, *USA Today* ran stories on (1) teachers' strikes in public school systems around the country; (2) state and local government policies concerning AIDS education in the secondary schools; (3) Department of Agriculture guidelines on school lunches; (4) new political strategies being pursued by groups that want to remove certain books from public school curricula and libraries; (5) the average salaries of school principals; and (6) departing Secretary of Education William Bennett's farewell remarks about the adequacy of American public education. "NBC Nightly News" reported some of these same stories and also some others, including a speech on education policy by Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis and a controversial decision (opposed by interest groups that represent the handicapped) by the Air Force Academy to expel a student who had lost the use of his legs in an automobile accident and who, as a consequence, no longer met the academy's physical requirements.

Most of the week's stories on schools and politics could be used by civic educators to serve two purposes. First, they instruct students about the presence of politics and government in their own lives and the lives of their peers. Second, the stories offer a point of entry into broader questions concerning the American political system: What are the rights of public employees? What role should the schools play in the effort to fight AIDS? How can (and should) groups outside the school system influence the content of the school curriculum? What place do departments of the federal government occupy in the school system? How do presidential politics affect the lives of students? and so on.

Citizen Participation in Politics

In a departure from the traditions of American politics, neither major party presidential candidate in 1988 waited until Labor Day to "kick off" the campaign. Both George Bush and Michael Dukakis campaigned furiously all during the week of 29 August to 2 September, and their speeches and appearances constituted the main explicitly political story in both *USA Today* and "NBC Nightly News."

The newspaper and network news coverage had little to do with the main themes of the traditional civics curriculum regarding citizen participation in politics, however. Neither *USA Today* nor NBC News had much to say about the substantive issues of the election, and they said still less about the roles of citizens as campaign participants. Instead, both concentrated their coverage overwhelmingly on the strategic aspects of the campaign: charges and countercharges by the candidates and their staffs; tactical maneuvers by each candidate to go on the offensive and get off the defensive; carefully staged public appearances around the country; changes in campaign staff organizations; squabbles over the nature and frequency of presidential and vice presidential debates; success or failure in the polls, and so on.

Interestingly, much attention was given throughout the week to methods of citizen participation that enjoy a much less prominent place in the traditional civics curriculum than do elections. These ranged from protests and demonstrations (against abortion; against the construction of a shopping mall on the sight of the Civil War battlefield in Manassas, Virginia; against loud train whistles near a residential neighborhood; against expelling a handicapped student from the Air Force Academy, and so on) to lobbying efforts by the National Rifle Association and its opponents, and to petitions to put an initiative on the ballot in Oklahoma that would limit the length of the state legislature's sessions.

Several news stories in both media overlooked what must have been extensive citizen participation. NBC reported on Monday, for example, that a judge had ruled against a law that would have closed the Palestinian Liberation Organization's office in Washington. Clearly, pro-PLO citizens or groups had initiated or financed the lawsuit, but their role was not mentioned in the story.

Bureaucracy

Our present system of civics education, sticking as it does mainly to explications of the Constitution and the electoral process, teaches students little about how the bureaucratic agencies of the government work. This may help to explain a startling finding by the authors of *The Civic Culture* (Almond and Verba 1963). Although Americans ranked first among the citizens of the five democracies studied in "civic competence" (the feeling that they could do something to prevent an unjust law from being passed), they ranked only third in "subject competence" (the "ability to appeal to a set of regular and orderly rules in their dealings with administrative officials"). We do not teach subject competence in school, so it should not surprise us that adults later feel ignorant and overwhelmed when they have to deal with as many bureaucratic agencies as they do in the course of their daily lives.

Judging from the week's news coverage, the news media make no shortage of references to the bureaucracy. Here is a list of the federal departments and agencies that were mentioned at least once during the course of the week by either *USA Today*, NBC, or both:

Federal Aviation Administration
Department of Justice
Environmental Protection Agency
Department of Energy
Department of Commerce
Department of Education
National Transportation Safety Board
Board of the Census
Department of Defense
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Labor
National Park Service
Department of Agriculture
Immigration and Naturalization Service
National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Social Security Administration
Forest Service
Fish and Wildlife Service
Center for Disease Control
Occupational Safety and Health Administration

Frequent mention of bureaucratic agencies by the news media, however, does not translate into remotely adequate coverage. Although agency rules and procedures were the basis of numerous stories during the week of 29 August to 2 September—"Environmental Protection Agency bans factory construction in Los Angeles," "National Park Service reluctant to interfere with Yellowstone Park fires," "FBI announces affirmative action hiring plan for blacks and Hispanics," and so on—nothing was said about how these bureaucratic agencies operate, much less how citizens can influence their operations. In one especially remarkable case, NBC aired extensive reports on Thursday and Friday nights about a Delta plane crash in Dallas. The reporter made reference to crash "investigators" thirteen times without once mentioning that the investigators were from the National Transportation Safety Board.

Courts as Policymakers

As with bureaucracy, civics curricula are generally insensitive both to the role of the courts as policymakers and to the ways citizens influence and are influenced by court decisions. As with bureaucracy, too, the news media abound with references to (unaccompanied by explanations of) policymaking by the courts. Viewers of the Tuesday edition of "NBC Nightly News," for example, were told simply that a judge had decided to permit

Eastern Airlines to end its service to fourteen cities but not to lay off four thousand workers. On Thursday and Friday nights, viewers heard references to a "court-appointed bankruptcy trustee" who was in the process of deciding whether PTL ministries should be sold to its defrocked ex-leader, televangelist Jim Bakker. Tuesday's *USA Today* mentioned that the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (What's a court of appeals? What's a circuit? Where's the ninth circuit?) had required U.S. government agents to obtain warrants to conduct searches even in countries that did not require warrants. In none of these stories was any explanation offered of the legal issues, the court procedures, or the judicial system that was involved.

International News

Nowhere is the challenge to civic educators to provide students with a context for making sense of the daily news greater than in international affairs. The world according to daily journalism is a congeries of violence and catastrophe, as evidenced by the complete roster of the stories about life outside the United States that appeared on "NBC Nightly News" during the week of 29 August to 2 September.

Monday: Controversy over air shows in West Germany in aftermath of plane crash.
Violent demonstrations and political turmoil in Burma.
Tuesday: Polish government seems to yield to Solidarity in face of strikes and demonstrations.
Continuing controversy over air shows in West Germany.
Soviet soldiers recapture a town from rebels in Afghanistan.
More violent demonstrations in Burma.
Vietnam will allow more searches for U.S. soldiers missing in action.
Wednesday: Solidarity leader Lech Walesa asks end to strikes in Poland.
Burmese government warns demonstrators to stop.
Anti-apartheid headquarters bombed in South Africa.
Thursday: Polish workers end strikes.
Speculation in South Africa that black leader Nelson Mandela may be gradually freed from prison.
Friday: Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan delayed in effort to repel rebels.
Walesa seeks to negotiate with Polish government.
Riot in Belfast in support of the Irish Republican Army.

NBC's coverage of the world during the week in question may not have been typical in the unrelenting nature of its emphasis on (seven) nations that were undergoing severe internal disruption. But the nature of daily journalism, if I may speak coloquially, is to run outside when it hears a loud noise to find out what is going on. Students should be taught to place such reporting in some sort of perspective.

Polls and Other Statistical Data

Every television network and nearly every major newspaper (often working in conjunction with each other) now conduct their own surveys of public opinion: the CBS/*New York Times* poll, the ABC/*Washington Post* Poll, the NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, the CNN/*USA Today* poll, and others. So do many smaller newspapers and local television stations. Even those that do not sponsor polls frequently report the results of others' polls on their own pages or programs.

This proliferation of media-sponsored polls has occurred in less than a decade. Accompanying the trend has been an increased use of graphic presentations of other kinds of data both within news stories and in separate, self-contained "sidebars." In most cases, the news media attempt to present data in attractive, easily comprehensible ways. Sometimes they succeed; sometimes they do not. Sometimes, too, newspapers and television place so much emphasis on how data appear that necessary information is sacrificed.

Few things are more misleading than misleading statistics. The pretense of precision that statistical data convey make them all the more convincing, even when they are false or incomplete. Yet, abuses or shortcomings aside, journalism is enriched when it offers full and accurate data rather than sweeping generalizations or seat-of-the-pants assertions based on reporters' impressions.

How, then, to prepare students to approach data critically when they confront polls and other statistical information in the newspapers and on television—to discern what is valid, to dismiss what is invalid, and to discount what is incomplete?

During the week of 29 August to 2 September, both *USA Today* and "NBC Nightly News" offered examples of statistical reporting at its best and worst. On Thursday, *USA Today* did a splendid job of reporting and presenting Bureau of the Census data on changes in poverty and income levels in the United States. As reproduced in Figure 1 (page 53), the story, although brief, was thorough and clear; the accompanying graphs and tables were attractive and reasonably complete. Civic educators could make good use of stories such as this one in teaching students how to make sense of data that is presented in the daily news media. *USA Today*'s report was all to the good, because the night before, NBC had offered a cursory story on the same Census Bureau report that, for example, described changes in the poverty rate without explaining what the poverty rate was.

NBC redeemed itself on Friday with a thorough, engaging explanation of the unemployment rate. The reporter explained just what this frequently-reported figure consists of, emphasizing the deliberate omission from unemployment data of "discouraged workers," that is, people who had stopped looking for work. For its part, *USA Today*, in a daily feature called "USA Snapshots" ("A Look at Statistics That Shape the Nation") that appears on the bottom left corner of the front page, failed miserably in reporting the results of a poll on the "favorable ratings" of several major institutions (see Figure 2, page 54). The poll, although attractively and wittily presented, is unrevealing as to the size of the sample, the questions that were asked, the dates the poll was taken, the trends from earlier polls on the same issue, and other basic pieces of information. Media failures like media successes offer civic educators a useful tool for education in interpreting data.

Conclusion

The observations about the news media that are offered in this paper are designed to stimulate discussion, not conclude it. The suggestions for civic educators are illustrative, not comprehensive.

No such qualification is declared for my thesis, however. To teach students to become intelligent newspaper readers and television news watchers is to teach them a set of skills that are fundamental for democratic citizenship.

References

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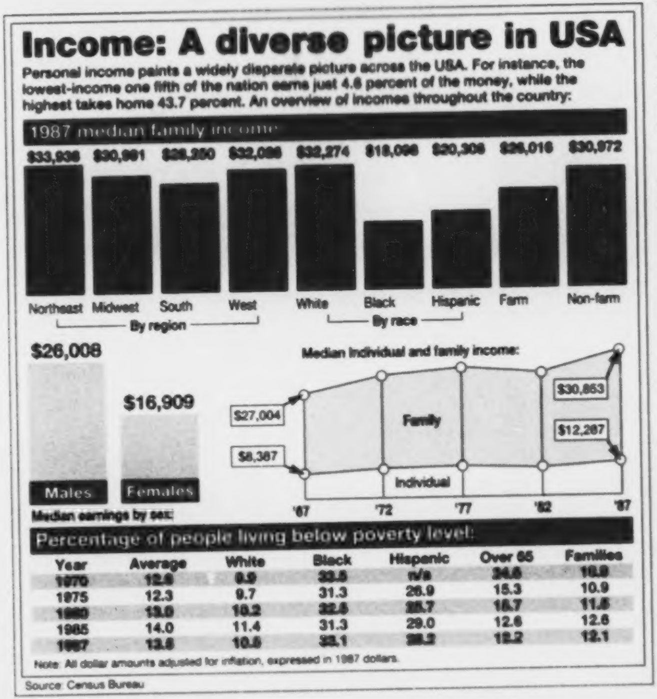
Income up; poverty level same



Income: A diverse picture in USA

Personal income paints a widely disparate picture across the USA. For instance, the lowest-income one fifth of the nation earns just 4.6 percent of the money, while the highest takes home 43.7 percent. An overview of incomes throughout the country:

Percentage of people living below poverty level:

Year	Average	White	Black	Hispanic	Over 65	Families
1970	12.6	9.9	33.5	n/a	24.6	10.9
1975	12.3	9.7	31.3	26.9	15.3	10.9
1980	13.0	10.2	32.5	25.7	15.7	11.5
1985	14.0	11.4	31.3	29.0	12.6	12.6
1987	13.5	10.5	33.1	28.2	12.2	12.1

Note: All dollar amounts adjusted for inflation, expressed in 1987 dollars.

Source: Census Bureau

Fifth year of gains; 32.5M live in poverty

By William Dunn
USA TODAY

Family income nudged up 1 percent in 1987 and the poverty rate didn't change, the Census Bureau said Wednesday.

It was the fifth straight year for family income gains. At $30,853, the median family income — adjusted for inflation — equals the 1973 record high.

Still, 13.5 percent — 32.5 million — lived in poverty.

"The economic recovery is leaving many poor Americans behind," says Robert Greenstein of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

The poverty level for a family of four was $11,611 in 1987.

Black poverty remains high because of the high rate of single-parent families — 48 percent of black families.

Says Census' William Butz: "Since the late 1960s there has been a gradual decrease in the share of income that goes to the lowest 20 percent and the middle 60 percent."

But Stuart Butler of the Heritage Foundation says: "Fewer Americans are living in poverty than the numbers show," because the poverty statistics don't consider non-cash benefits such as food stamps and public housing.

Other 1987 median findings:

▶ Families headed by college graduates, $46,533; high school graduates, $29,937; less than eight years, $14,547.

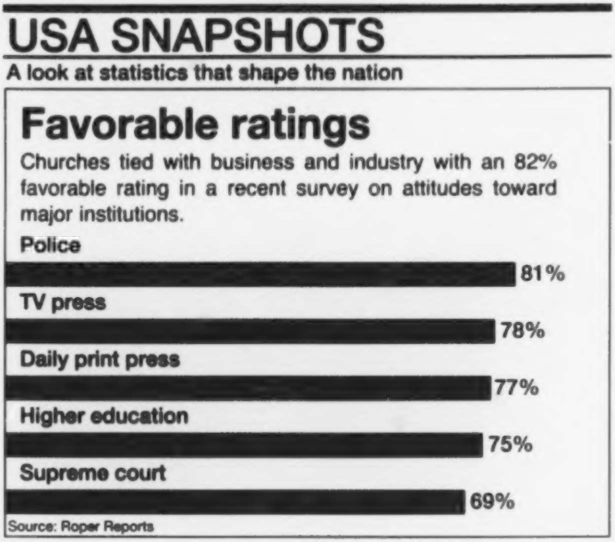
▶ Female-headed families, $14,620, up 3.4 percent — first significant gain since 1984.

▶ Earnings of full-time working women are only 65 percent that of men. But since 1982, women's earnings have grown faster than men's, 10.4 percent vs. 4.8 percent.

▶ Forty percent of the USA's poor are children; 21 percent of children are poor — higher than for any other age group.

Figure 1

Figure 2



USA SNAPSHOTS

A look at statistics that shape the nation

Favorable ratings

Churches tied with business and industry with an 82% favorable rating in a recent survey on attitudes toward major institutions.

Source: Roper Reports

Global Political Concepts In and Out of the Global Village: Comments on "A Future for Civic Education"

F. Chris Garcia

Civic education as taught in most schools in the eighth and ninth grades has been rightfully the target of considerable constructive criticism. A subject that is inherently interesting, since it deals with so many important aspects of personal and public life, often becomes dry, boring, and seemingly irrelevant and is consequently, perhaps rightfully, relegated to a minor curricular niche.

The foundation discipline underlying most traditional civics courses is political science, or more descriptively, government. The focus is usually institutional and procedural rather than behavioral. Facts and descriptions about government and politics are conveyed, usually along with some normative prescriptions about democracy and constitutionalism. All are presented in a rather abstract, otherworldly manner. The behavioral revolution—which impacted political science about twenty-five years ago, and which emphasizes people's actual behavior and its quantification—has impinged only imperceptibly, if at all, on civics teaching. The findings of other related disciplines that deal with people's behavior—psychology, sociology, anthropology, and economics, to name a few related social sciences—are typically omitted from the civics domain, thus making citizenship education even less interesting and more artificial.

Cognizant of the remoteness of traditional civic education from the daily concerns and activities of students, Michael Nelson has proposed the use of the news media as an aid in promoting effective citizenship training. This paper elaborates upon this useful and welcome approach. Moreover, it advocates an additional approach to make civic education more real and relevant—the conceptualization of the school itself as a political system and the teaching of basic political concepts as manifested in everyday school activities. Additionally, the incorporation of the modern approaches and discoveries of political science, in addition to those of other related disciplines, is also suggested.

Global Political Concepts and Competence

Political science has a great deal to contribute to the teaching of citizenship for the future, more than is commonly perceived. Most civic educators would recognize those contributions of the discipline that relate to the structure and operation of our governments in our constitutional system. These contributions form the primary content of most traditional civics courses. Fewer probably are aware of those political phenomena or principles that are universal or global in nature, and that exist outside as well as inside government. Their presence is included in the schools. Among these global concepts that form the basis for investigation by political scientists are authority, legitimacy, interest representation, mobilization, decision making, political communication, influence and persuasion, and others. These not only help define the intellectual domain of political science but can also be the key concepts that underlie an effective civic education. Focusing on these generic and fundamental concepts may serve to resolve some of the ambiguities and difficulties which Michael Nelson accurately points out as inherent difficulties in teaching the political content of eighth- and ninth-grade civics courses.

Professor Nelson points out that there is some ambiguity about whether civic educators are teaching a subject which is remote and distant from the daily lives of most students, or whether they are teaching a set of applied skills that, for the most part, will be utilized several years in the future. I believe that this is a challenge that can be resolved by teaching *concept-related skills* that are both immediately applicable and also generalizable to activities in which citizens will participate in their adult lives—in other words, development of political competence. This may be defined as the ability of people to behave effectively in their roles as citizens and in processes related to group governance.

The other challenge that Professor Nelson indicates is faced by civic educators is that lessons about effective participation must be taught while concurrently helping students develop a more abstract comprehension of how the political system works. Focusing on the concept of *competence* may serve also to bring these together. A focus on competence means that not only must a person be able to perform certain functions such as skill building, but that he or she must do so intelligently, based on a thorough understanding or comprehension of the consequences of his or her action.

The Media and Political Knowledge

Professor Nelson's thesis is that one way to teach competence, that is, devising ways in which civic education will be both useful and interesting, is to teach individuals to be intelligent newspaper readers and television news watchers. In introducing this approach, Professor Nelson makes a very telling statement (which could also have been the basis for the much broader view of civic education espoused in this paper) when he states that "habits formed and techniques developed in schools promise to carry forth uninterrupted into adulthood." Indeed this is a primary finding of one of the fields of study in political science—that of political socialization. Although Nelson presents this thesis in reference to interactions with the news media, it is a principle that can and should be applied regardless of the particular skill or competence involved. Perhaps more precisely descriptive of teaching civic education through the use of the news media is Nelson's statement that teaching students to be intelligent readers of newspapers and watchers of television news serves to "fill a real gap in our political system."

In order to understand the operation of the political system, Nelson proposes that one should use the current events reported in newspapers to illustrate the real-life manifestation of general political processes, such as lawmaking, rather than relate an abstract hypothetical description of, for example, "how a bill becomes a law." In this regard, Nelson states that "students should be taught to see the connection between news events and daily life." This is a key concept that could be greatly elaborated. Students can look to the media for reports of general processes that are in operation, regardless of whether they occur at city hall, the state house, or in the federal capitol.

Nelson points out that one of the major problems of using television news for civic lessons is that that medium tends to focus on the dramatic and the entertaining; for example, on candidates' appearances, strategies, and tactics rather than on the public principles and issues that underlie these activities. On the other hand, because of its flair for the dramatic, television can directly exhibit to students interesting political behavior, which is much more dramatic and has a greater impact on them than does the kind of behavior that is typically described in civic textbooks and which cannot be as dramatically presented in newspapers. Examples cited are televised protests and demonstrations and depictions of actual lobbying efforts on several issues. The "global village" of television can thus increase interest among students, a necessary prerequisite to participating in public affairs, and heighten their sense of potential direct involvement.

A few words of caution are in order here. Educators should be urged to recognize and teach about the limitations and biases of the news media. These skills of "recognizing limitations" can be applied in analyses not only of the news media but also in studies of other major institutions. All major organizations have biases and also are limited by their ideology, resources, and time constraints.

Another caveat about the use of television as a source of citizenship training is in order. We must guard against its use inculcating a passivity which is antithetical to the ideals of an active participating citizenry. Television is an unparalleled source of information. Yet it is a one-way transmission of messages, including communications from the government, to the mass citizenry. Democratic citizenship is not meant to be a spectator sport. People responsible for developing a civic curriculum based on television must figure out how to transform this one-way bombardment of messages into various forms of more active citizenship skills. Although information must form the basis for activity, both comprehension *and participation* must be promoted through civics learning.

Diversity of Groups and Disciplines

Lessons in diversity inevitably spring from the use of media. Membership, via TV, in the global village means being a member of a political community that is comprised of a plethora of national and ethnic cultures. This vicarious membership in a multiethnic global society can provide lessons of foresight into what is increasingly a multicultural, ethnically diverse society of the twenty-first century United States. That politics is a group-based activity is a fundamental finding of political science. Yet civics education usually subordinates the importance of groups to an alleged individual relationship between isolated citizens and the government. In America, significant groups increasingly will be non-Anglo in ethnicity. Television and its introduction to worldwide ethnic diversity may be used to preview, and teach about, the future ethnic group politics of the United States.

Using the media in civics education requires analytical tools from disciplines other than the traditional political science and history of the civics course. The media are mirrors of reality in all its fascinating complexity; its features certainly transcend any one professional discipline. Real life problems are interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary; that is, they do not recognize those somewhat artificial categories that disciplinary experts have created in order to become more expert in their own analysis of what is, after all, only one slice of reality. Newspaper and television accounts are replete with stories that offer diversity and the subsequent opportunity to bring the perspectives of several disciplines to bear on them. In their main thrust, some reports basically deal with politics, others with workings of the economic system. Some are more sociological or anthropological in approach. The focus of other news items is mainly historical in nature; all stories take place in a geographical context. However, even though a particular story may have one or two "disciplinary" emphases, it is far more likely that major news features, and most certainly an entire TV news program or issue of a newspaper, reflect interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary topics, that is, the nonsegmented realities of everyday life.

The Ubiquity of Politics

Much of the thrust of public affairs reports is by nature political; this is particularly so in election years. The campaign and the coming fall elections offer many stories about public opinion polls and related activities of the election campaign. Nelson's perusal of *USA Today* was dominated by news of politics and government at all levels. Indeed, Professor Nelson states that "few news stories are completely nonpolitical," and indeed politics does run through virtually all news reporting. Nelson rightfully reports that civic educators need to show students how pervasive the presence of politics and government is in public and even private life. Nelson recognizes this when he states that even stories about airplane crashes have "political aspects."

Realizing the political aspects of seemingly nonpolitical news can lead to discovering the presence of politics and government throughout daily lives. Political phenomena are found not only in all sections of the daily newspaper but also in the everyday activities of schools themselves. The operations of schools feature many of the processes and concepts whose understanding is necessary for civic competence outside the school. For example, skills of communication, analysis, and decision making are needed. The concepts of authority, rules and rule making, bureaucracy, and influence, both by individuals and groups, are manifested in the schools as well as in newspapers, television, and the external world.

Professor Nelson does rightly point out that education and politics are inextricably intertwined, citing news media reports of teacher strikes, Agriculture Department guidelines on school lunches, and political action groups influencing the inclusion or exclusion of various elements in the curriculum. Most certainly these explicit political phenomena involving schools—that is, the so called "politics of education"—are quite common. That schools are major players in explicitly political activities helps bring politics closer to the everyday lives of students, but there are also political processes occurring *within* schools that can be used as sources of political information for civic education.

Issues arise on campus, within the school's walls, or even within classrooms, that in essence are political situations and which manifest general political phenomena and concepts. Most obvious are the activities of student governments or student councils. These involve campaigns, elections, and the legislative process. However, relatively few students are usually directly involved in council participation, and student governments often are much less involved in deciding major school issues than is the school administration.

In order to be more inclusive, one can conceptualize the school as a political system. This is most clear when there exists a controversy about a particular policy issue that must be resolved. For example, perhaps a "no smoking" or "limited area smoking" policy is being considered. If the school is an authoritarian system, a small group of individuals will make the binding decisions (policies) with little or no participation by the student citizenry. In a more democratic system, students and teachers will communicate, perhaps organize interests pro and con, and attempt to exert influence in various ways on the leaders who have the decision-making authority. Those who have the best communication, the smartest strategies, and can mobilize the most resources are most likely to exert a deciding influence on the outcome of the controversy. The skills learned through participation in the resolution of such a conflict can be generalized by the civics educator to participation in the society outside the school.

Bureaucratic Politics

An important point is made when Professor Nelson states that, by and large, Americans do not get schooling in competency in dealing with bureaucratic systems, yet the average person is in frequent contact with bureaucracies. Civic education typically teaches students very little about how the bureaucratic agencies of government work, yet all of us realize that many of our political dealings are not directly with elected or appointed government officials but rather with "street level bureaucracy," that is, those local public servants who are engaged in the implementation of our public policies. This includes agency clerks, law enforcement officers, field service workers, etc. The media often make several references to bureaucracy, most particularly the federal administrative departments and agencies. Yet, media stories dealing with state, local, or national agencies typically say little or nothing about how these agencies operate and even less about how citizens can deal effectively with their operations.

However, to return to our point about political processes within the schools, bureaucratic organizations exist much closer to students' lives than do even the motor vehicle department, the Selective Service agency, or the Department of Education. Indeed, most schools manifest many bureaucratic aspects. Students often run up against what may seem to be arbitrary rules and regulations, officious behavior, nonresponsiveness, buck passing, and many of the other frustrations that also exist in external bureaucratic agencies. These experiences can be used to teach lessons about what bureaucracies are, how they operate, and how individuals can successfully deal with and influence those operations.

Judicial Decision Making

Professor Nelson also mentions how newspapers and television report and show a great deal about courts and yet do little to explain how courts and the judicial system operate, how courts actually make policy, and how citizens influence and are influenced by court decisions. Certainly, the typical civics curricula should include more about courts as policy makers. It is probable that many citizens will have more direct interactions with our justice system than they will with, for example, the congressional system. Yet, civics curricula generally are not strong in this area of decision making, that is, the resolution of value conflict through judging the relative merits of competing cases and handing down a binding decision. Again, this procedure, although not officially titled "judicial," is found in many of our schools.

Global Curriculum for the Schools

One of the major emphases of effective citizenship education these days must be "internationalization." The interdependence of peoples and political entities throughout the world is increasing rapidly as technology is in the vanguard of bringing us together. The media are some of these technologies, and television and newspapers have been major contributors to direct and indirect knowledge about international affairs. This may be one area in which the use of media in civic education is particularly appropriate. Television in particular literally brings the "global village"—international people, places, and events—into the homes of civics students. Schools too often miss this marvelous opportunity for using the magic of television to bring other nations and other peoples into the classroom.

When students view actual televised world events at home, too often little explanation or analysis occurs. Schools often fail to follow up on this global exposure by explicating world news through the use of the hypotheses and analyses of social scientists. Two of the major related areas of political science are (1) comparative politics and (2) international relations. Extensive research in these subdisciplines over the decades has contributed a great deal of information and many theories that can be used to aid comprehension of international events in the civic classroom. Yet too much reliance may be placed on a formal study of comparative political systems or economic systems. Even inherently intriguing "area studies" often are surprisingly dull in their classroom format.

Schools may fail to help students understand their own relationship to what is going on in the world. These global events can also be related to what happens in the school and in the community. This was most obvious, and most tragic, with regard to the Vietnam War, which provided a great opportunity for civic education about many aspects of our society and other nations. Yet in the late 1960s and early 1970s schools by and large failed to educate students about the war, to help them understand what was going on and why it was going on, and to place it in a broader international, historic, and economic context. In short, an international perspective was not promoted by the schools, a great failure of civic education of that period.

Need for Numbers

Finally, Professor Nelson discusses how the polls and other statistical data that proliferate during presidential years can be used to teach general skills of quantitative analysis. Assuredly students must be able to separate good information from bad information, accurate from invalid data, and leading from misleading statistics, in order to have an accurate picture of the world in which they live. Modern citizenship competence requires skill in at least basic mathematics and economics. The data analyzed need not only be that found in TV and newspapers' reporting of external occurrences. There is a great deal of statistical and numerical information available about schools and students, such as the number of students, their median age and other demographic characteristics, and their accomplishments on various tasks—tests, athletics, etc. Simple but representative public opinion polls can be conducted, and perhaps ought to be conducted, by classes about school issues. The conduct and analysis of a school-based poll on school issues can teach virtually all the essentials of statistical fallacies, and problems of sampling and representativeness, which major network and newspaper polls are very likely to gloss over. The appropriate role of "the people's voice" in a political system can also be discussed or illustrated through such an activity.

Summary Observations

In sum, using the media is indeed an excellent and underutilized way to bring the reality and diversity of external politics into the classroom. It is a method that has been underutilized but which is particularly appropriate for our very media-oriented students. Additionally, however, there is a great deal of political content occurring in *the everyday life of schools* that generally is not recognized as such. While the media can be very useful objects for teaching such competencies as the acquiring and using of information, making judgments, and communicating these concepts, these and others can also be utilized as they are manifested within the school. Using the rich diversity that is found in modern news media not only would make civics education more interesting and lively; it would also add to the global education that our students will increasingly require in the future. But even this is not enough, because the limitations of the media will result in their necessarily being used primarily to fill a comprehension gap which, although it should be filled, is not the totality of civic education.

The media largely reflect a reality that is external to the schools. Using that external reality *in combination with the internal reality of the schools as political communities* can provide a much more complete and realistic civic education, one that will build civic competencies that can be used by student-citizens while in school as well as after their school experience.

Part Three:

Legal Systems and the Civics Curriculum

Introduction to Part Three

William T. Callahan, Jr.

The law-related education movement arose in response to the existence of an important vacuum in the content of the traditional civics curriculum. That curriculum, as we have noted, has been relegated to the narrow perspective of the subfield of government. To the extent that the role of law is examined, the legal system and its institutions are described primarily within the context of governmental institutions and democratic policy making. C. Hugh Friedman (1985) has observed that this approach can "distort the law by oversimplification of its complexities, concentrating on its public aspects or failing to elucidate essential procedural as well as substantive doctrines and their underlying policy rationale." A. Bruce Campbell, a lawyer and writer of law-related education materials, was asked in his paper for the conference to comment on what is taught in the schools about the law and its processes and to suggest appropriate legal content for a civics course.

The absence of a comprehensive treatment of legal systems within the traditional civics curriculum has resulted from the professionalization of legal studies. As Mary Jane Turner relates in her response to Campbell, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American educators appreciated the dual nature of law. They recognized that legal studies were not merely requisite for the practice of law, but were also an important aspect of the general education every citizen should receive. Unfortunately, over the years legal studies were elevated to the graduate level, leaving undergraduate teaching about law to political science faculties interested only in selected aspects of the field. Courses in which students, including prospective teachers, could learn about the origins, nature, and functions of law dwindled. Not surprisingly, the civics course which became a standard part of the K-12 curriculum in the early part of the twentieth century was practically devoid of legal content.

It was not until the 1950s that concerted efforts were initiated to redress the absence of legal content from civic education programs. Prominent legal scholars drew attention to the problem and a variety of organizations were established to develop law-related curricula and instructional materials. The movement has prospered in the decades since. Literally millions of youngsters have been exposed to law-related education programs. In part, the success of the movement reflects the cogency of the rationale for law-related education. It is also attributable in part to the instructional strategies often used to deliver legal content.

Popular acceptance of the rule of law is unquestionably vital to the continued health and prosperity of our democracy. Citizens must thoroughly understand democratic processes and be willing to employ them in making decisions and managing conflict. In focusing on the basic social contracts of our society and such concepts as justice, freedom, and due process, law-related education may substantially contribute to the development of the social attitudes and the analytical and critical thinking skills necessary for responsible citizenship. Understanding the political, economic, and social systems within which the democratic citizen operates is not possible without an understanding of the legal principles and practices that largely define and support them. As Campbell illustrates, the law is pervasive and impacts upon the daily lives of Americans in innumerable ways. Hence, study about law should be an integral part of any citizenship education curriculum.

Law-related education is not only difficult to argue against, but, as manifested in the many innovative materials and activities developed by such organizations as the Constitutional Rights Foundation and the National Institute for Citizenship Education and the Law, it holds many positive attractions for students and teachers alike. A wide array of competitions, simulations, and games have been designed with students' interests and capabilities uppermost in mind. Frequently, they allow students to actually experience such concepts as bias and prejudice while they learn about them. According to noted education scholar James P. Shaver (1981), the active learning encouraged by many law-related education programs is an important factor underlying their success. Studies by the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Hunter 1987; Johnson 1984a; Johnson 1984b; Shaver 1984), suggest that, when properly taught, the study of law can be highly motivating for students, and may also promote bonding to institutions and reduce delinquent and anti-social behavior.

Although sometimes taking the form of a semester or year-long course in constitutional, criminal, or civil law (and ironically acting as a competing course to traditional civics in this form), the vast majority of law-related education materials are designed for infusion into existing courses, such as government, civics, or history. Teachers use the materials to enrich selected aspects of course content, but as Mary Jane Turner points out, this approach often results in fragmented and confusing instructional programs. Students fail to gain an understanding either of law or of the relationship of law to the primary subject being taught. More fundamentally, Campbell contends that civic educators in the law-related education arena have in the past sometimes misfocused their efforts by concentrating on particular laws or areas of law as if they were ends in themselves. Such narrow foci for legal studies in civic education do not begin to realize law's potential for enriching the subject. If the goal of civic education is to empower students to be knowledgeable and effective decision makers and participating citizens as adults, a broader approach is in order.

The approach that Campbell advocates centers on law's role in the social order. This elevates the level of analysis from the study of particular laws and legal issues to study *about* law and legal processes as social ordering resources: law's nature, social functions, limits and interrelations with other social ordering resources, and social change. Citizens need a basic understanding of what law is, how it works, what it can reasonably be expected to accomplish, how it can be evaluated, and how it changes. Without such understandings, Campbell argues, it is unrealistic to expect the populace to assume the active and constructive citizenship roles that are central to a healthy democratic "government of laws."

According to Campbell, there are at least five justifications for bringing study about law into the civics curriculum. Studying the law at work in society

1. reveals much about the nature of law, while also dispelling widespread misconceptions, such as the belief that the law is primarily restrictive;
2. helps students internalize important humanistic notions such as justice;
3. enhances civic efficacy;
4. enriches other civics-related disciplines that are themselves rich in legal content; and
5. helps to cultivate a wide range of intellectual skills.

Assuming that study *about* law, rather than the content of particular laws as such, is the proper focus of legal study in the civics curriculum, what are the most important concepts about law that should be included? Campbell identifies four categories. The first is *law as a social necessity*. Within this category reside such topics as dispute resolution, deterring anti-social conduct, and protecting the governed from the governors. The second category is *how law works*, which concerns legal tools or techniques that can be applied to help solve social problems. *Evaluating legal processes* constitutes the third category, which addresses the fact that outcomes are not the only aspects of legal operations subject to qualitative evaluation. The merit of the legal process can be judged by criteria independent of the results it produces, such as participation, rationality, consistency, and flexibility. The final category in Campbell's schema is *limits of law*, which naturally concerns limitations in law's capacity to meet objectives set for it.

For two related reasons, an appreciation for the inherent limitations of law is an especially important aspect of legal education for citizenship. A realistic understanding of law's capabilities should reduce unrealistic expectations. Realistic expectations may in turn reduce unnecessary disenchantment when dealing with "the system." Legal studies that do not turn a blind eye toward law's limitations may help to foster among students that healthy and constructive skepticism lying between what Campbell characterizes as the twin "civic malignancies" of apathy and cynicism.

Within the context of an attempt to design an integrated civics curriculum for the middle grades, a focus on study *about* law was deemed eminently appropriate by the conferees. Exactly which aspects of law should receive attention, however, was the subject of some debate. Among the subjects missing from or skirted by Campbell's schema, but deemed by some to be worthy of inclusion in the civics curriculum, were legal roles, legal principles, and legal reasoning and skill-building.

The idea of applying a model similar to Campbell's to the other systemic components of the proposed curriculum (political, economic, and social) was raised early on in discussions and was widely supported. There appeared to be near-universal agreement that at the eighth- or ninth-grade level, and particularly when one is trying to integrate content from several disciplines at once, broad questions are far more important than specifics. Such an approach need not entail "dumbing down" disciplinary content to the point where it is virtually useless, as in "tot" sociology (Ravitch 1987). Rather, it involves distilling disciplines to those core concepts of greatest utility for helping nascent citizens understand social phenomena and their relations to one another, to their environment, and to the institutions of society. Viewing a discipline from the perspective of its subject's role in the social order, as Campbell does, is an effective way to initiate the distillation process.

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Legal Content in the Civics Curriculum

A. Bruce Campbell

Defining the Subject—"About Law"

Before making any case for enriching secondary level civic education with learnings from the discipline of law, some matters of definition should be addressed. When speaking of "law" as a proper subject for liberal education in the humanities, of what does one speak? Ask this question of several educators, and the answers are likely to be varied. "Law" is teaching about the Constitution, in particular the Bill of Rights; crimes and why criminal laws should be obeyed; legal rules applicable to landlords and tenants, borrowers and lenders, purchasers and sellers; or important contemporary law-related social issues such as the threatened environment, women's rights, and drug abuse.

A distinct case can be made for law-related education with each of the above focuses. Indeed, pioneering educators and concerned lawyers over the past twenty-five years have developed a great number of secondary social studies curriculum materials that focus on areas like these.[1] Clearly the better materials in each of these areas offer something to general education, from a better understanding of what the U.S. Constitution says and citizens' rights thereunder to basic first aid for the consumer.

Such narrow or specialized focuses for legal studies in civics education do not, however, begin to realize law's potential for enriching this social science. *Webster* tells us civics is "a social science dealing with rights and duties of citizens" (1986, 244).

In turn, social science is defined as that branch of science dealing with the "institutions and functioning of human society and with the interpersonal relationships of individuals as members of society" (1986, 1119).

Thus, a strong case can be made that the study of law, properly conceived as a resource to enrich civics as a branch of social science, is the broader study of law's role in the social order. It is the study of how law affects individuals and their relationships as members of society. The focus broadens from the Constitution, crimes, legal first aid, or legal aspects of particular social issues. It shifts from the study of laws and legal issues to study *about* law and legal processes as social ordering resources: law's nature, its social functions, its limits, its interrelation with other social ordering resources and with social change. The end is not learning what given constitutional, or criminal, or consumer laws say. It is instead learning such things as what law is, what it does, how it does it, why it does not always accomplish objectives held for it, and how it can be intelligently criticized and improved.

"Law," thus conceived for general education, can be an important part of civic education in enhancing the humanistic dimension of this social science. In an article entitled "Law, Science and Humanism," Harry Kalvin and Hans Ziesel note:

> Humanism appears to involve at least two related notions: respect for human values, notably those of dignity and individuality, and a concern for the aesthetic side of life, as reflected in art and literature. In both these senses the law is deeply humanistic (Summers and Howard 1972, 2).

If the humanities are, in fact, at least in part the study and promotion of respect for human values ("notably . . . dignity and individuality"), law is an apt part of that study. Professor Robert Summers points out in making the case for law in general education that at least seven common uses societies make of law demonstrate the importance of law in facilitating individual self-realization: providing health, including a healthful environment; reinforcing the family and protecting privacy; keeping order; securing individual freedoms; minimizing unjust inequalities of opportunity; enhancing reliability of exchange relationships; and promoting private ownership (Summers 1972, 16).

The case for the humanistic study *about* law and legal processes as the appropriate and most effective means of the legal discipline contributing to the future of civic education is succinctly put by an eminent legal/educational scholar and by a far-sighted American political leader.

The Justification for Study "About Law" in Civic Education

The most enlightened approach to law for liberal education starts from the premise that the proper focus is study *about* law—where and how it fits in the social order. In lieu of learning the content of laws as an educational end in itself, the best of what the discipline of law has to offer for the social science of civics is study about law's nature, its functions, and its limits.

Before suggesting particular "about law" content or concepts, it is useful to frame that content and these concepts in identifying what it is about law that potentially enriches traditional civic education. There are at least five important justifications for bringing law into civic education—five distinct ways that study about law and legal process enriches general education about the society in which we live and the individual's role in that social order. Study about law provides a unique opportunity for (1) addressing what has historically been a neglected, pervasive daily influence on us all; (2) analyzing important humanistic notions that are especially law-related; (3) enhancing a sense of, and capacity for, civic efficacy; (4)

enriching other civics-related disciplines; and (5) sharpening certain intellectual skills.

Understanding a Part of the Social Order that Affects Everyone Every Day

The alarm clock sounds and it is 6:00 a.m. according to the standard time established by law. Our high school student sheds her night shirt which, as required by law, is flame retardant. She brushes her teeth and showers in water that meets the purity regulations established by local town ordinances. After getting the paper and milk from the front porch, which were delivered pursuant to legal agreements with the local newspaper and dairy, our subject eats her cornflakes from a box complying with legally fixed weights and measures for content and which was purchased with legal tender. After a ride in a legally licensed school bus with a legally licensed driver who followed the legal rules of the road which were built with tax dollars that were raised and spent according to law, our young citizen arrives at school. Here she confronts more legally licensed professionals, operating under legally binding contracts, who will address with her a legally sanctioned curriculum. She has been out of bed less than two hours and our target of civic education has had more than a dozen brushes with the law (none of them, incidentally, with the criminal law).

A subject that is so much a part of our everyday social behavior should not be left out of general education if an objective of that education is to understand the society in which we function. It makes no more sense to leave to the lawyers the general study of the subject of law's role in society than it makes sense to leave the study of arithmetic to the mathematicians. Professor Summers points out that addressing law's application to everyday activities not only reveals basics about law's nature and functions, but also serves to dispel many widespread misconceptions about law—for example, that law is essentially restrictive rather than facilitative.[2]

Treating Key Humanistic Notions

Studying the law at work in society involves judging between competing claims and values in real life situations. It involves trying to understand processes of balancing between following fixed rules and exercising sound discretion. These exercises are unusually well suited for sharpening students' sense of justice and capacity for responsible judgment. More than twenty years ago, in making the case before the legal academic establishment for integrating law studies into liberal, humanities studies, Professor Summers argued that important social values of liberty and equality are most effectively studied through the medium of primary source materials of law. Here students see concretely what is at stake and are induced to empathize, and so to internalize, important humanistic notions (Summers 1967).

Fostering Civic Efficacy

Justice Louis D. Brandeis once noted, "Those who won our independence believed . . . that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people" (*Whitney v. California*). Two of the pioneers of modern efforts to bring study *about* secondary education have supported those efforts by the reason, among others, that understanding law's role in society is essential to stimulating the active involvement of the individual, private citizen that is necessary for the legal system to work effectively in a free society. Professor Harold Berman in his seminal modern work, *On the Teaching of Law in the Liberal Arts Curriculum*, noted in 1956 that the study of law is an important foundation in the training of students for the responsibilities of social, economic, and political activity. Robert Summers in his early appeal to legal educators argued that study about law in general education is necessary to foster understanding of citizens' roles in the operation of government and to stimulate citizen participation in legal and political processes (Summers 1972). As so concisely put in the promotional brochure for this very conference:

> The future of our democracy depends on educating citizens to participate actively and intelligently as voters and political activists, workers, consumers, savers/investors, and volunteers (Foundation for Teaching Economics 1988).

Citizens need a rudimentary understanding of such matters as what law is, how it works, what law reasonably can be expected to accomplish, how it can be responsibly evaluated and criticized, and how it changes and relates to social changes. Without this, it is unrealistic to expect the populace to assume the active, positive, constructive, and critical roles that are part of a healthy functioning democratic "government of laws."

If fundamental liberties are to be preserved, private citizens must actively exercise their legally protected constitutional rights. Furthermore, certain implements of the legal system only work at the initiative of private citizens. Those who want improvement of the social order through orderly change must be willing and able to engage actively in processes of legal change. However, if civic education does not tackle study *about* law, students' approach to law is not likely to be one of constructive, positive activism. It is more likely to be one fraught with misunderstanding, unrealistic expectations, and intimidation.

Our traditional approach to civics, ignoring basic inquiry about what law is and how it operates, invites frustration, alienation, apathy, and cynicism when dealing with "the system." These are the very antithesis of the attitudes in the citizenry that are essential for the viable operation of law in a free society.

Enriching Other Civics-Related Disciplines

The case for law in general civic education was early suggested by the argument that other disciplines that are rich components of effective civics education are themselves rich in legal content. John Appel in a 1958 piece advocating integration of law study into social science at the undergraduate level notes:

> Understanding of social sciences . . . cannot possibly be divorced from an understanding of legal systems. . . . The students of history, economics, political science, psychology, sociology and allied fields must consider the legal order, and particularly legal institutions, and often the nature of legal analysis, in order to see their special fields in the perspective essential to a true liberal education.
>
> [T]he student of political science who studies constitutional law is enabled (or perhaps forced) to consider the historical, economic, social and philosophical aspects of his own discipline—and the same holds true for a student in any department of the liberal arts curriculum.

Sharpening Intellectual Skills

A final justification that has traditionally been offered for bringing study about law to general social science and civic education concerns intellectual skills that the study of law may foster. Professor Paul A. Freund (1966), in a landmark article on the subject of law for liberal education, stresses the potential of legal materials for developing the intellectual powers of students. Freund cites and explains how seven important intellectual modes of thought may be cultivated through immersion in the problems and literature of the law. These modes of thought he identifies as dialectical thinking, contextual thinking, ethical thinking, genetic thinking, associative thinking, institutional thinking, and self-critical thinking.

Professor Summers adds an eighth intellectual mode of thought to be found in studies about law—process evaluative thinking. The study of processes of making and employing laws affords a rich opportunity for qualitatively evaluating the *means* for implementing social policy. Summers notes that traditional studies of policy sciences tend to divorce artificially the analysis of social ends from the analysis of social means, thereby rejecting the important study of the qualitative evaluation of social processes on the basis of criteria apart from the ends the processes are apt to produce.

More than three decades ago, one of the early leaders of the movement for bringing studies about law to general social science education summarized justifications for this in the report that initiated this modern (albeit, modest) movement.

> The study of law—not as a matter of professional training but as a matter of humane, or liberal, education—can enrich the minds of students of the arts and sciences in at least three principal ways.
>
> First, it can have a value for their general education a) by helping them to understand the relation of order to disorder in human experience, b) by exposing to them a method of reasoning different from that which is generally used in the social and natural sciences, a method of reasoning adapted to the reaching of decisions for action, and c) by making them aware of law as one of the great freedom-creating traditions of Western thought and action.

Second, it can have a scholarly value for them by filling in important gaps in their knowledge now left by omission of legal materials and by giving them important insights into the subject matter of other disciplines; it can help students of government, for example, to grasp more fully the underlying premises of American politics and of international relations; it can help students of philosophy to understand better such matters as the nature of inductive and deductive reasoning and the relation of ends to means; also it can enrich education in history, sociology, and other branches of learning. At the same time, education of social scientists in law can play an important part in enriching legal scholarship.

Third, law study can have a moral and intellectual value for students of the arts and sciences by helping them to develop a sense of justice and a capacity for responsible judgment; that is, in studying the factors which enter into the reaching of legal decisions and the making of legal rules, the student's own intellectual responsibility, and his moral capacity to judge between competing claims and to strike a proper balance between rule and discretion can be enlarged (Berman 1956, 17).

Legal Content for a More Effective Civics Curriculum

Returning to the premise: it is not the study of the content of particular laws, as such, but study *about* law, its nature, functions, limits, and role in society that is the proper focus to enhance civic education. With that premise, what are the most important and fundamental concepts or learnings that are likely to foster through civic education students who will be more effective participating citizens of tomorrow? What subjects about law and legal processes will most effectively impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to function as effective citizens? In the following pages four main topics are considered: (1) Law as a Social Necessity, (2) How Law Works, (3) Evaluating Legal Processes, and (4) Limits of Law.

Treatment of each of these topics starts with a statement of a fundamental concept or learning about law or legal processes. This is followed by a brief explanation of that concept and argument in support of its inclusion in the legal dimension of the civics curriculum. Then a number of illustrative sub-concepts are treated. These too are learnings about the nature, functions, and limits of law and law's role in the social order.

The four main learnings about law that are treated are by no means offered as an exhaustive inventory. Many other fundamental concepts about law and legal processes could similarly enrich civics studies. In fact, a number of other recurrent themes or learnings that surface in the four topics are identified at the conclusion of the paper.

Law as a Social Necessity

Essential Functions Law Performs Make Law Necessary in Society as We Know It. In our complex society legal rules and procedures provide an accepted means for resolving private disputes when private parties are unable to resolve them. Law supplies guidance and regulation of many wholesome activities that would be dangerous, inefficient, or just plain chaotic without such guidance. Laws officially define and discourage by punishment certain unacceptable, antisocial conduct. Special kinds of laws ("constitutional laws") protect basic freedoms by defining, limiting, and restraining powers of officials. Because of the nature of people and societies, law is essential to do certain jobs like these.

In considering the necessity for law by studying it at work performing such essential functions, civics students may learn a great deal about the nature of law as well as about its functions. They will see that law is essential in society, not merely incidental. They will see law operating primarily in a facilitative, rather than restrictive, role. They will observe that laws and legal processes can be employed soundly or foolishly, and often it is the wisdom of the people employing law that determines which.

Observing law at work on such essential social functions also affords the student the opportunity to learn something about the nature of society, something about the critical roles public officials and private individuals play in the operation of law, and something about the connection between law and important social values, such as liberty, fairness, order, and safety. After examining law at work on necessary social functions, students should understand that the legal system is more than mere rules; it is rules, processes, officials, private individuals, and official sanctions.

Law is Necessary To Provide Rules and Processes for Resolving Disputes Fairly and Rationally. When people live in proximity to one another, disputes occur. It is human nature. Sometimes people of ill will cause disputes. Often, disputes are between people of good will. Such people have good-faith disagreements over the facts underlying a given dispute (e.g., whose car crossed the double line? what were the terms of the verbal agreement?). They disagree over interpretation of the applicable rules (was the conduct negligent under the circumstances?). Even when there is no contest over interpretation of rules, people often have good-faith disputes over which rules are applicable (should the rules for binding contracts apply to an agreement between teenagers?). Dispute resolution may involve finding facts, deciding what rules should apply, interpreting rules as they apply to specific facts, and fashioning a result or remedy once it is decided who should prevail.

There are many different kinds of disputes that come about as people live together: disputes between family or church members, disputes over accidents, disputes over property, disputes over agreements, and even disputes over the way public officials do their jobs. Some of these disputes are far more suited to legal resolution than others.

There are many different procedures for resolving disputes, ranging from coin flipping to fighting, to voting, to turning the dispute over to a third party (like a court). Students should consider why it is unsatisfactory simply to leave some disputes unresolved. They can evaluate different dispute resolution processes and identify what distinguishes going to court from other procedures for dispute resolution. They should isolate the special characteristics of good processes for dispute resolution and relate these characteristics to the judicial process.

Law Is Necessary to Regulate, Guide, and Coordinate Much Social Interaction. When large numbers of people come together to live in complex societies, they are a threat to one another unless they have effective standards to guide or coordinate many kinds of wholesome, routine activity. Such standards need a certain amount of uniformity and the support of official sanctions for those who ignore them. One of the most pervasive roles of law in modern societies is in supplying these regulatory or guidance standards.

Laws set standards for social interactions in complex society without which such interaction would be confusing at best and dangerous at worst. Legal regulations, for example, give us standard time, a uniform medium of monetary exchange, and orderly use of the airwaves. They help protect the quality of our water and air, and help protect us from each other on the highways and in the air. They help us avoid consuming adulterated foods or drugs.

In performing their regulating functions, laws also establish minimum standards for performing jobs that are potentially dangerous to others' health, safety, or welfare. Thus, one can only drive a car or airplane, handle certain hazardous materials, be a teacher, practice medicine, or sell certain kinds of property if he or she is officially licensed after having obtained specified knowledge and training or demonstrated particular skills.

A third type of regulatory law validates, as legally sanctioned or enforceable, private arrangements that meet specified standards. For a marriage to be legally valid, marriage partners must be a given age. Certain contracts and wills are legally enforceable only if they are in writing.

In evaluating the regulatory law all about them, students can see law employed effectively and ineffectively. Given conduct may have too much or too little legal regulation. Legal regulation can be sound or unsound and well or poorly administered.

Law is Necessary to Deter and Discipline Certain Unacceptable, Antisocial Conduct. People kill people. People steal others' property and purposefully hurt others. All members of society are not of good will at all times. People engage in antisocial conduct that willfully and unreasonably threatens other persons or property. Perhaps law's most familiar function is identifying unacceptable conduct and setting penalties to discourage people from engaging in it.

Law thus functions to protect citizens from the misconduct of other citizens. It seeks to set punishments that deter antisocial conduct by making the likely consequences of engaging in the conduct less attractive than the fruits of engaging in it. This kind of law also seeks to protect us from bad actors by isolating them or rehabilitating them. Official sanctions for antisocial conduct may function as a substitute for retribution or revenge to which victims of crimes may be disposed, and which may involve further unacceptable conduct.

The penal law function is an interesting contrast to other essential social functions of law. If people always acted in good faith, only the criminal law function would cease to be necessary.

The interplay between penal law and other non-legal social ordering forces is dramatic. The task of minimizing antisocial conduct gets a big assist from notions of common morality and religious convictions.

Penal law also provides dramatic illustrations of critical roles of individuals if law is to operate effectively. Without widespread citizen support in condemning conduct that is deemed criminal, officials' effectiveness in applying criminal law is seriously impaired.

Law is Necessary to Protect the Governed from Overreaching by Public Officials. Laws are necessary if critical social functions are to be performed. As laws are not self-making or self-applying, a variety of officials (legislators, regulators, judges, police) are needed to make, interpret, apply, and enforce laws. The mere creation of officials with power to exercise control of private citizens presents the potential for abuse of power and loss of freedom.

In a free society (one "of laws" and not "of men") a necessary function of law is to limit the power and activity of officials. Even officials with good intentions pose a threat to the citizenry unless laws restrain them. Such constitutional or constitutive laws define, restrict, and limit the authority of officials as to *what* are the proper subjects for official action; *who* among officials is empowered to perform particular tasks; and *how* official action must be carried out.

The United States Constitution is a modern model of constitutive law that has worked over a sustained period to protect a citizenry from overreaching by its officials and to preserve basic freedoms for American citizens. This law declares certain subject areas out of bounds for lawmaking. Ex post facto laws are prohibited as are laws establishing religion or restricting free speech, press, religion, assembly, or the right to petition government.

Similarly, our Constitution, by separating powers between independent branches of government and dividing powers with the states, establishes restraints and limits on *who* can properly exercise powers of officials—powers which, if abused, jeopardize freedoms of the citizenry. So functionally viewed, the traditional treatment of the constitutional structure of government may take on more meaning.

Lastly, our constitutional law restricts *how* legal officials may go about their jobs. They may not take life, liberty, or property without *due process of law*. They must apply the law with equal protection to all citizens. They cannot legally, among other things, put a citizen twice in jeopardy for the same crime, compel him to bear witness against himself, invade his privacy without probable cause, or punish him cruelly.

Students should consider what the values are that are being secured by such restrictions on officials. So promoting liberty, private property, and fairness is not without social cost of its own. Students should weigh the cost in terms of inefficiency of administration of criminal law or the threat to order that results from such constitutional restriction.

In a free society there is no more essential role of private citizens than keeping their officials within the boundaries established by constitutional limitations. Who officiates over the officials? In a free society the answer, in significant part, is private citizens exercising their constitutional rights. If citizens do not exercise their rights to speak out against officials or vote them out of office when they overstep constitutional boundaries, those constitutional protections of liberty will not work; they are not self-executing.

The four functions of law discussed above (dispute resolution, guidance, deterrence of anti-social conduct, and limitation of official action) are not the only functions of law that demonstrate the necessity of law to society as we know it. Professor Summers, in his text for undergraduate liberal study about law, adds law's functions for promoting human health, reinforcing the family, and ordering private ownership (Summers 1972). There are others worthy of study.

How Law Works

As Law Deals with Social Needs and Problems, Officials and Private Citizens Use a Limited Number of Legal Techniques or Tools. Law can be viewed as a series of social resources, a number of mechanisms or tools, that can be applied to help solve social problems and perform social functions. Five distinct tools or techniques can be identified: (1) the criminal law or penal technique, (2) the lawsuit or grievance remedial technique, (3) the regulatory technique, (4) the public benefit technique, and (5) the private arranging technique. Each of these legal tools has distinctive characteristics that are useful to identify. Each has distinct capacity to perform particular social functions. The roles of private citizens and public officials vary with each of these techniques in making law as well as in influencing, activating, and operating the technique in our legal system. Each of these legal resources may be unsoundly applied because the wrong resource has been put to work or because law, in the given circumstance, does not have sufficient support of non-legal forces of social control.

Such an "instrumental" conception of law is an effective method for considering law's nature and functions in the social order as well as private individuals' and officials' roles in making law work. A survey of law's techniques provides insight into what law is and how it is used (Summers 1971).

Law's five basic techniques or resources provide a systematic framework with which to investigate a number of things about law. Students can see concretely how law is put to work in many ways on a single social problem (e.g., highway safety, environmental pollution, public education, or drug abuse) by looking at different ways that each tool is effectively or ineffectively employed on that problem.

The legal techniques grid provides a ready means for analysis of the varying roles of private citizens and public officials in making and applying law of each separate legal technique. It also is a framework for systematic study of the interrelationship of law and non-legal social ordering resources such as public opinion, custom, economic self-interest, interests in self-preservation, and public morality.

Separation of powers analysis provides a scheme that is traditionally utilized in teaching about the operation of American government. The alternative "instrumental" approach proposes an analysis of the legal system through a systematic survey of a limited number of distinct legal techniques.

The primary rationale for separation of powers by our forefathers was that each branch of government would serve as a check on the others, thus protecting the governed from the potential oppression of too great a concentration of governmental power. As discussed earlier in this paper, American history illustrates that the authors of the United States Constitution were perceptive in designing a government of separate powers to help protect the governed from the the government. Yet, the separation of power scheme is commonly used for an additional pedagogical purpose—to view how government operates. Students traditionally learn that the legislative branch makes and changes laws; the executive branch enforces laws; and the judicial branch interprets and applies laws. Tidy and simple as this scheme may be, it is not an accurate and informative way to analyze the operation of American government. However, the legal technique scheme takes into account the available tools or techniques of law that both individuals and government use to solve social problems.

A survey of the operation of various legal techniques presents a more refined picture of what government officials of various kinds do than of the analysis of the government branch by branch. The notion of separation of powers in this context suggests that law is made by one branch of government, enforced by another, and interpreted by yet another. This simply is not accurate. While the power to legislate rests exclusively with the legislature, in a very real sense the courts, administrative officials, and the executive branch make and change law in performance of their constituted duties. Judges and administrative officials share a major part of the executive's law enforcement functions. Laws are interpreted and applied in conflict situations by administrators as well as by judges.

Separation of powers analysis has a serious gap. The entire administrative-regulatory branch of government is missing. These government officials, whose positions are normally created by the legislature and filled by the executive, are not part of the legislative, executive, or judicial branches.

Separation of powers analysis unrealistically separates in a rigid way the structure of government from the operation of law. The government is not only structured by law, but law provides procedures by which governments operate. On the other hand, the legal techniques analysis turns the focus from mere structure of government to analysis of structure in the context of operational processes.

The Criminal Law or Penal Technique or Tool Helps Discourage Antisocial Conduct By Prohibiting It and Punishing It When It Occurs. There are a number of special characteristics that distinguish the penal technique as it seeks to discourage socially unacceptable conduct by punishing it. The vast majority of the law's operations concern themselves with wholesome conduct—but this is not true of the penal technique. This legal tool, unlike any other, is concerned with conduct that is widely recognized as wrong. The legislature typically determines what conduct will not be tolerated and labels it as criminal. Normally, there is a great overlap between criminality and perceptions of immorality. Where there is not, the penal technique stands little chance of operating effectively and sometimes operates at great cost in terms of loss of public support.

In operation of the penal tool, crimes are linked with punishments so as to deter the identified antisocial conduct. Application and enforcement of this technique involves numerous special officials such as police, prosecutors, public defenders, wardens, and parole officers. Yet, private citizens have very important roles if this tool is to do its job well. Citizens must support the condemnation of the prohibited action by reporting crime and acting as jurors and witnesses. Because this legal tool deals with life, liberty, and property of those accused of crimes, elaborate special procedures exist for preventing official errors or abuses in the process of administering this technique.

The Private Remedy or Lawsuit Technique or Tool Helps Provide Regress When a Citizen Feels Another Citizen or Official Has Wrongfully Harmed Him or Her and the Dispute Cannot Otherwise Be Resolved. The remedial or lawsuit tool provides an impartial third party in the form of a court to deal with private grievances or resolve disputes when disputants cannot do so themselves. This legal tool is initiated almost exclusively by private individuals. The remedy involved is typically the award of money damages or an order directing someone to do or cease doing something. The outcome of the dispute resolution process is enforceable by the court.

The private remedy technique often comes into play when legal arrangements between private parties break down, but it can also involve grievances between a private party and an official. The judicial process of resolving disputes is complex and more time consuming and expensive that most alternative methods of dispute resolution.

The Regulatory Technique or Tool Provides Standards, Guidance, and Coordination of Wholesome Activity to Promote Health, Order, Safety, and Efficiency. Most of the activity that law regulates is not the immoral behavior that the penal technique concerns itself with. The regulatory technique provides guidance in wholesome, everyday activity. Regulatory programs are normally established by legislators with actual regulatory standards being made and carried out by expert administrative officials in a variety of fields. Regulatory standards are in large part self applied, but are backed up with official sanctions where necessary. Disputes that arise concerning application of regulatory standards are usually resolved by the grievance remedial technique.

The Public Benefit Tool or Technique Involves Raising Revenues and Distribution of Benefits of a Variety of Kinds to the Public. When we live together in a complex society, there are certain services that, as a practical matter, are most effectively provided by government at some level. The public provision of such benefits is in significant part ordered and carried out by law and legal processes.

Law's public benefit tool has both a cost assessment side (usually taxes) and a benefit distribution side. The benefits in question are ordinarily perceived as essentials, the distribution of which by means of private arrangement is impossible or impracticable. The nature of national defense or penal law enforcement is such that these can be provided for only through a public effort. While education of the populace in a modern society conceivably could be left to private arrangements, the practical difficulties of doing without a public school system would be monumental.

The public benefits that are part of law's public benefit technique are widely varied: armed forces, schools, highways, welfare, direct subsidies to businesses, retirement benefits, law enforcement, mails, recreational facilities, and space exploration to name a few. Some, more than others, of these are necessarily left to the public benefit technique. Some, more than others, are essential.

Activities of the public benefit tool are ordinarily authorized by the legislature, which also assesses costs to underwrite the benefits, through taxation. Public benefit programs are carried out by a wide variety of public officials, including judges, police, and a multitude of administrative officials, such as tax collectors and education commissioners. Private citizens are employed in vast numbers to deliver the products of the public benefit technique as, for example, soldiers, road builders, teachers, and welfare workers. Governments or public agencies at various levels are by far the largest employers in our society.

The Private Arranging Technique or Tool Validates, Facilitates, and Enforces Arrangements between Private Citizens. Our legal system leaves a great many matters to private decisions, private arrangements, and private administration. Private activities are carried on by individuals, groups, and organized bodies of different kinds. Private social arrangements are highly varied, including such things as marriage, wills, contracts, property transfers, religious organizations, business associations, unions, charitable organizations, and social clubs.

The prime thrust of these arrangements is that they enable private citizens to realize things for themselves by themselves. Private parties determine the content of these arrangements and generally administer the arrangements they create. Yet law plays important roles in these private arrangements as law's private arranging tool works.

Societies use law as an instrument to facilitate and effectuate these private arrangements in three primary ways. Law grants citizens legal power to create the relevant kinds of private arrangements, for example: a marriage, a will, a contract, or a corporation. Legal "rules of validation" specify steps to be taken if legal significance is to be accorded the private arrangement. Then, law accords varied forms of significance once these validating steps are taken. Such forms of legal significance include, for example, "bindingness" (for a will), recognized status (for marriage), remedies for departure (for a contract), imposition of duties (child support), and qualification for a benefit (tax exemption).

When private arrangements break down, the lawsuit/remedial tool or technique is generally available to provide redress.

Evaluating Legal Process

Legal Processes—How Law Does What It Does—Are Worthy of Qualitative Evaluation According to Criteria Apart From the Results the Legal Processes Are Apt to Produce. People are inclined to evaluate social interaction, including the operation of law, solely in terms of outcomes. We are result-oriented: "All's well that ends well."

When it comes to the operation of a legal system, outcomes are not the only things subject to qualitative evaluation. We can judge the "goodness" or "fairness" of the *processes* by which a legal system makes and administers laws, apart from results. A sound law might be made by executive fiat rather than by representative majority vote. On evaluation, the outcome is satisfactory, but this lawmaking process is still objectionable. A guilty suspect may be convicted on the basis of a confession secured by torture. The outcome is again satisfactory, but evaluation of this process of administering laws raises objections. Defects in lawmaking and law administering processes are probably as important a source of injustice in the operation of a legal system as any. Furthermore, when the law is criticized on the basis of soundness, reasonableness, or fairness, more often than not, the criticism goes to *how* law went about something, not its end result.

Evaluation of the merit of something based not only on the results it produces but also on *how* it gets to those results, carries over to all kinds of social institutions and relations—friendships, families, ball teams, churches, and classrooms to name a few. Just as with law, with each of these, "It is not only whether you win or lose (the result) it is how you play the game (the process) that 'counts' (is subject to normative evaluation)."

If students are to criticize the legal system intelligently or to seek to improve it by changing what needs improvement, they need to be prepared to evaluate legal processes as well as results. Such study may better prepare them to criticize and to change non-legal parts of the society in which they live.

Legal processes can be systematically evaluated by identifying discrete criteria by which the qualitative merit of the legal process can be judged apart from the merit of the results the process is apt to produce. Such criteria or "process values" include such notions as participation, impartiality, rational deliberation, consistency, and correction. In studying lawmaking and law administering, one can draw conclusions about the quality of our legal system in action by evaluating how it measures up based on such process values.

Legal Processes Can Be Judged by the Extent To Which They Appropriately Provide for Participation by Those Affected. The process value of providing appropriate participation by the governed is related to the notion of "government by the people." This kind of an appropriate "say" in the legislative lawmaking process starts in our legal system with provision for a representative legislative body that is selected by the vote of the governed. From the perspective of evaluating legal processes on the basis of opportunity for appropriate participation by those affected, students can address more perceptively and critically such familiar subjects as the role of private interest groups in our government, the high cost of running for office, reapportionment, the right to an "opportunity for a hearing" before being adversely affected by legal action, the right to confront one's accusers, and the right to legal counsel.

Legal Processes Can Be Judged by the Extent To Which They Operate Impartially or Free from Improper or Undue Influences. Regardless of whether some extraneous influence in a given circumstance has an impact on a result, processes are subject to evaluation based on the extent to which they are designed to avoid such influences. When law making or law administering takes place in circumstances in which those acting are subject to influences unrelated to the merits of the task at hand, the legal process can properly be criticized. This is so even if in the given circumstance the undue influence does not take hold and dictate the outcome. Quality legal processes are designed to be impartial—free from undue influence. Some laws themselves seek to foster impartiality in legal processes. Examples include laws making bribery a crime, requiring disclosure of lobbying, prohibiting conflicts of interest, requiring financial disclosure from certain public officials, and disqualifying judges and jurors from sitting in cases where they know the litigants.

Legal Processes Can Be Judged by the Extent To Which They Provide Opportunity for Rational Deliberation, Free from Coercion. Law making and law administering processes can be criticized if they fail to allow the time and means to discover relevant facts and promote the application of reason to those facts. Such concerns result in both legislators and litigants having the power to bring people before them to testify. Some legislative bodies have elaborate rules for passing bills, such as multiple readings, publication, and acceptance of proposed legislation by a second legislative body.

Legal Processes Can Be Judged by the Extent To Which They Assure Similar Treatment in Similar Circumstances. Regardless of whether a given outcome is sound, something is wrong with legal processes that allow for inconsistent treatment of cases that are essentially the same. Assuming one favors capital punishment, he is likely to find fault with a legal process that executes only capital offenders of a particular race or sex. The requirement of "equal protection" to all citizens under the law and the doctrine of binding judicial precedent are responsive to the process value of consistency.

Legal Processes Can Be Judged by the Extent To Which They Allow for Correction of Error. As human beings are fallible, so potentially are the laws they make and the processes by which laws are administered. Legal processes themselves can be evaluated based on the extent to which they allow for correcting mistakes. In this context, in our legal system laws and regulations are subject to judicial review. Judicial decisions are appealable to higher courts. Trial judges can be asked to reconsider certain rulings they make. Criminal juries are permitted to ignore the law and acquit with impunity regardless of the mandate of the criminal law. Judges can override juries, except with respect to acquittals. In part, in recognition of the fact that mistakes will be made in our legal system, our Constitution gives special protection to speech and press that are critical of officials.

Limits of Law

Law by Its Nature Is Not Omnicompetent, but Is Inherently Limited in Its Capacity to Meet Social Objectives. What is meant by "limits" of law? To say law is inherently "limited" goes beyond saying some laws are ill conceived or poorly administered. Law might set the speed limit at ten or one hundred and ten miles per hour. An official who is illiterate or ten years old might be assigned by the law the task of licensing "fit" teachers. These would not be very good laws and may be limited in their capacity to meet their underlying objectives of safe and effective highway transportation and quality education, respectively. But it is not something inherent in the nature of laws and societies in which they operate that precludes better laws on these subjects.

When considering "inherent" limits of law, the subject is limitations in law's capacity to meet objectives set for it, even when it is used effectively in the sense of sound content and processes. Because of the nature of law, society, and human beings, some things are simply too much to expect reasonably from law—even when it is working well.

Development of basic understandings about law's inherent limitations is important for at least two reasons. A realistic understanding of law's capacity should lessen unrealistic expectations from law. This, in turn, may reduce unnecessary disenchantment and cynicism in dealing with "the system." Young people who believe the legal system fails them should not arrive at that conclusion based on law's failure to measure up to standards that would not themselves be embraced by a citizenry better informed about the nature of law.

For today's students to be tomorrow's effective makers and users of law and designers of social improvements through legal change, a realistic set of expectations is a necessity. Free society depends on active participation and attitudes of constructive skepticism on the part of private citizens in dealing with law, legal authority, and legal processes. Positive, active skepticism is born of an informed understanding of the basic nature of law and legal process. A realistic appreciation of law's inherent limitations fosters that constructive skepticism that lies between the twin civic malignancies of apathy to one side and cynicism to the other.

A number of identifiable characteristics about law and legal processes help delineate several distinct "limits of law."

Law Is Limited in Its Capacity to Restrict or Regulate Thoughts and Feelings as Opposed to Overt Actions. Humanistic commitment to humanity; support of the institution of family; love of God and country—few would take issue with the proposition that these are generally accepted social objectives reflecting widely shared social values. Law is utilized to promote such shared objectives and values. To the extent that law undertakes such tasks by taking direct aim at thoughts, beliefs, and feelings, it almost certainly will not be effective.

Laws that address overt actions related to these objectives and values may be viable: one shall not assault one's neighbor; one is responsible for providing economic necessities to spouse and children; one must answer when called upon to defend one's country. Laws cannot succeed at directly regulating the thoughts and feelings at the root of these values: one must love one's neighbor, country, or God, or respect members of one's family. Such laws are not only impossible to enforce, but any effort to this end is an assault on freedom of belief and thought which is fundamentally offensive to any society with a humanistic or libertarian commitment.

Law Is Limited in Its Capacity to Operate Effectively When Not Supported by General Public Morality. For laws to be effective they must enjoy a certain measure of public support. Legal prohibitions of alcohol consumption, prayer in the schools, abortion, adultery, attempting suicide, gambling, and driving on freeways not in excess of fifty-five miles per hour all are examples, in some measure, of laws that have not worked very well. In each example, there has been widespread lack of moral support in the general populace for the prohibition. Contrast these to consensus supporting prohibitions such as "Do not steal" or "Do not kill." The role of the populace in the operation of laws that prohibit activity is so pervasive that, without support of common morality, law in this realm is severely limited.

Law Is Limited in Its Capacity to Fashion Effective (or Sometimes Even Appropriate) Remedies. When a citizen is aggrieved by the conduct of another, that citizen can turn to the courts and the law's remedial technique. This tool of law, in turn, may settle the parties' dispute by awarding a remedy to the party who has been wronged. Law's arsenal of remedies is, however, limited. A judgment for money is law's most common remedy. In some instances, the court will order that action be taken or stopped. Beyond this, law runs out of solutions. In many cases these possibilities simply cannot effectively repair or compensate for the wrong that has been done. Legal remedies in some circumstances miss the mark by such a margin that a legal remedy for a legal wrong is not even appropriate. No legal remedy can effectively repair the damage to a victim who has been raped or purposefully disfigured, to the surviving loved one of a murder victim, or to the neglected child or abused spouse.

Law Is Limited in Its Capacity Simultaneously to Promote Widely Accepted Values in Circumstances in Which Those Values Are in Conflict. Law frequently is faced with trying to promote competing social values. Accepted, fundamental values often are presented in circumstances in which one value can be fostered by law's operation only at the expense of the other. Sometimes no ready compromise takes law off the horns of such a dilemma. When the "peaceful" exercise of free speech on an intensely unpopular subject threatens to incite a riot, law must choose between freedom and order: in the given circumstance, it cannot have both. The nature of value conflict itself routinely limits law's capacity to support fundamental values that laws exist to promote.

Law Is Limited by the Fallibility of Those Who Make and Administer It. If stupid legislators or lazy judges are selected, or if apathetic or cynical citizens will not actively participate in the operation of the legal system, the quality of what the system produces will be limited. To some extent the machinery of a legal system is "neutral," with the quality of its processes and results being limited by the skills and attitudes of those who operate it.

Law Is Limited by Its Capacity Accurately to Recreate Past Facts. In the judicial process of the penal and remedial techniques, law's capacity to produce meritorious outcomes is limited by its ability to determine past, relevant facts. Imperfections in human powers of perception and recall and, less frequently, dishonesty, impair the judicial process of accurate fact finding. Frequently the judicial process is simply incapable of determining with certainty, for example, who crossed the double white line on the highway. What did the parties actually say when they reached a verbal agreement? Who pulled the trigger? Without certainty regarding essential, relevant facts, law is limited in its capacity to guaranty a meritorious outcome.

Law Is Limited by Its Lack of Technical or Other Complex Know-How. Law's capacity in seeking to perform many basic social functions is limited by the state of human knowledge about those functions. Law seeks to promote health, but without knowledge of the cause of cancer, law's efforts will not be altogether successful. Law seeks to promote the family in a realm where something so rudimentary as a formula for "good parenting" defies definition. Enormous legal resources are committed to highway safety, yet the accident-proof auto and highway await future technical advances.

Conclusion

Law is a resource for enriching future civic education that has hardly been tapped, notwithstanding two decades of a law-related education (LRE) movement. This is so because civic educators in the LRE arena have in significant part misfocused their efforts.

Instead of studying *about* law in general social studies education—its nature, functions, limits, and role in the social order—LRE efforts have largely focused on particular laws or areas of law (constitutional law, business law, consumer law) as if those were ends in themselves for social studies or civics education. In any general sense, they are not. It is the broader view of where law fits in society and where private citizens and officials fit in the processes of law that offers the potential to enrich civic education. The study *about* law and legal process offers to help empower students to be knowledgeable and effective decision makers and participating citizens as adults.

Four main content areas about law are suggested as appropriate candidates for transplant from the discipline of law to civics: (1) law's functional necessity, (2) an instrumental approach to how law works, (3) systematic evaluation of legal processes, and (4) law's inherent limits. Other pedagogical schemes of addressing law and legal processes in the social order are possible.[3] These might be built around themes that recur in the approach that is offered. The recurrent themes include these examples:

1. Private citizens, as well as officials, have key roles to play in every aspect of the operation of law.
2. Law often works in combination with non-legal social ordering forces.
3. There are complex interrelationships between social values, on the one hand, and law and legal processes on the other.
4. There are complex interrelationships between law and social change.
5. Law is primarily facilitative, and only secondarily restrictive.

Such basic understandings about law need to take their place in the civics curriculum beside basic concepts from other humanistic disciplines like economics, political science, and sociology. Until this happens, it may not be altogether realistic to expect today's students to attain the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to meet effectively the challenge of citizenship in a vital democracy in the next century.

Notes

1. Ten years ago the Social Science Education Consortium in Boulder, Colorado, cataloged in a single sourcebook some ninety sets of classroom materials for kindergarten to grade twelve levels. These are classified in six categories identified as role of law in society; social concepts related to law; constitutional law and civil rights; criminal law and the criminal justice system; contemporary issues related to law; and substantive law subjects (e.g., torts, contracts). *Handbook of Legal Education Resources*, Social Science Education Consortium, edited by M. J. Turner, Boulder, Colorado (1977).

2. In the introductory materials in the second edition of *Law: Its Nature, Functions and Limits*, Professor Summers identifies no fewer that thirty-one "Common Fallacies About Law." This list itself is a succinct inventory of understandings about law's nature, functions, and limits.

3. In *Law: Its Nature, Functions and Limits, supra*, Professor Summers, in addition to chapters examining each of law's five instrumental techniques, builds his study about law in the social order around seven basic social functions law helps perform: promoting human health; reinforcing the family; keeping the peace; protecting basic freedoms; securing equality of opportunity; ordering private ownership; and controlling people in power.

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Legal Content in the Civics Curriculum: A Reaction to A. Bruce Campbell

Mary Jane Turner

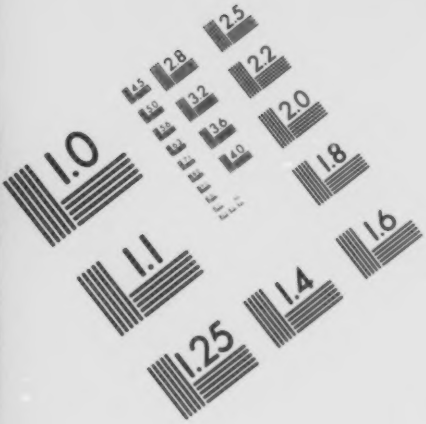
The purpose of this reaction paper, as I understand it, is not to provide a critique. Rather, it is to set a context for the participants and readers and to focus upon questions that relate the content of the paper to the improvement of civic education.

Overview of Study About Law in American Education

Bruce Campbell argues persuasively in his paper that instruction "about the law" should comprise a significant component of any civics curriculum. Even though this approach has seldom been used in American education, the proposition is not particularly new. The founders of our nation were unanimous in their belief that explicit education for citizenship should not be left to chance or private initiative, but should be taught and nurtured in the educational institutions of the new nation. The literature abounds with their comments discussing the importance of civic education for the success of popular government.

Thomas Jefferson was able, when he became governor of Virginia in 1779, to secure the establishment of a professorship of Law and Police—"Police" in this instance referring to the regulation and government of the inhabitants of a city or county. Jefferson, like many other early educators, considered jurisprudence (which, according to Webster, has to do with the science and philosophy of law) as *both* an academic study and the initiation of professional training for the practice of law. The "Plan of President Stiles" for Yale University, for example, states:

> The Professorship of Law . . . is important . . . not indeed toward educating Lawyers or Barristers, but for forming *Civilians*. Fewer than a quarter perhaps of the young gentlemen educated at College, enter into either of the learned professions of Divinity, Law, or Physic: The greater part of them after finishing the academic course return home, mix in with the body of the public, and enter upon *Commerce* or the *cultivation of their Estates*. . . . It is greatly owing to the Seats of Learning among us that the arduous conflict of the present day has found America abundantly furnished with Men adequate to the great and momentous Work of constructing new Policies or forms of Government and conducting the public arrangements in the military, naval and political Departments of the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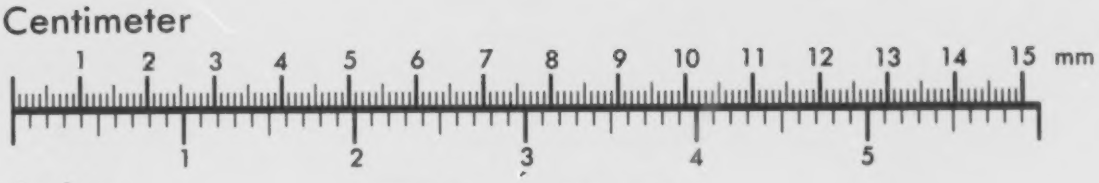
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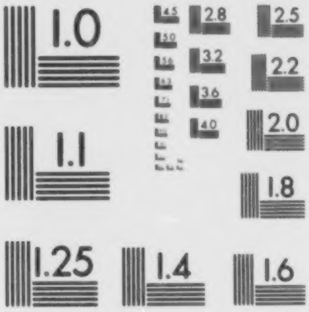
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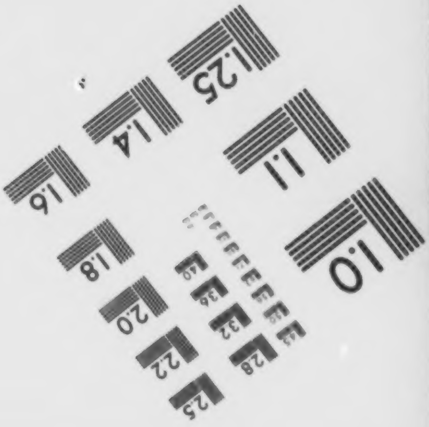
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> whole public administration of the *Republic of the United States* with the Wisdom and Magnanimity which already astonishes Europe.

Over the years, unfortunately, training in the law became professionalized in American universities, leaving political science faculties with the responsibility of providing students, including pre-teachers, with whatever insights they were to receive "about the law." The focus of many political scientists was on such matters as political theory, structures of government, political behavior, legal arrangements, and constitutional law. Few departments of political science in the United States offered courses in jurisprudence where students had an opportunity to discuss the origins, nature, functions, and techniques of the law. As a consequence, the civics course, which became a standard part of the kindergarten through twelfth-grade curriculum after 1916, has been strangely devoid of legal content. The same has been true of the standard American government, economics, and sociology courses.

By the late 1950s, scholars once again began discussing the deficiency. As Campbell has noted, Paul A. Freund, Robert S. Summers, Harry Kalvin, Hans Ziesel, J. D. Appel, H. J. Berman, and others began to write widely, once again promoting the philosophy of law as a necessary and important component of citizenship education. Others took a different approach to legal content. The American Bar Association established the Special Committee on Youth Education, which continues to work today, promoting law-related education. Lawyers from around the nation began working with teachers and making presentations in classrooms. Some even helped to write curriculum materials.

A number of organizations—one of which was the Constitutional Rights Foundation—were set up to develop curricula. Many of the curriculum materials that have been produced achieve significant citizenship education objectives. The quality of these materials is perhaps best measured by the fact that law-related education is the one of the "special interest" topics that continues to grow and be implemented in the social studies curriculum. More teachers are teaching law-related courses and more students are hearing about legal issues than ever before. Even so, more students graduate with no instruction in legal content than do students who have received some.

It is also important to understand where legal education is typically implemented in the kindergarten through twelfth-grade curriculum and the impact this has on instruction. At the secondary level, there may be one semester or one-year elective courses, focusing on constitutional, criminal, civil, consumer, or juvenile law or some mix of these. Legal education may also be taught as a supplementary component of an ongoing course. The interweaving of civics, American government, American history, economics, and law content often leads to a confusing and fragmented instructional program.

For the most part, few of the materials take the approach of examining law's role in the social order. In short, they are not organized to examine the nature, functions, techniques, and limits of law—the approach Campbell recommends.

If the law-related education programs do not generally take this approach, even fewer civics, American history, American government, and economics textbooks do so. As I have suggested, teachers often use the available law-related materials to enrich certain aspects of the content they teach, but this approach does not lead to a coherent understanding of law or of the relationship of law to the subject being taught.

The Goal of Civic Education

Educators and lay persons alike seem to agree that the goal of citizenship education should be to provide students with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that will enable them to participate actively and competently in our pluralistic democracy. Most people believe, as well, that once knowledge, skills, and attitudes are learned, people *should* participate.

What kinds of knowledge and intellectual tools are people talking about in this regard? At the most general level, there is considerable agreement. In order to be a good citizen, one needs to be able to analyze and understand social phenomena and the relationship of humans to each other, to their environment, and to the institutions of society.

It is when we move to the concrete level that disagreements begin to occur. There is only modest consensus about *what* knowledge, skills, and attitudes should be taught or about what should be the balance among the three.

It is in this regard that Bruce Campbell's paper becomes so instructive. Does it make sense to expect students to analyze and understand social phenomena if they have no insights about law—the very system that does so much to define the nature of society. How can students understand their relationships to other human beings unless they recognize that it is the law that both constrains license and facilitates freedom of choice? Similarly, if it is important for citizens to have knowledge about the political system and the economic system, should they not also have a basic understanding of the legal arrangements undergirding those systems? If citizens are expected to elect representatives who make law and executives who enforce and put those laws into effect, should we not give students criteria with which they can make sensible judgments, both before and after the fact? In short, should not law constitute a significant part of any well-designed civics curriculum?

These are some of the questions that should be addressed. In addition, the conceptual scheme for legal content, which is proposed for a civics curriculum, should be appraised. The basic premise is that the proper focus should be study *about* law—its nature, functions, techniques, and limits. Campbell argues this position cogently. Nonetheless, we must decide if other models are equally good. If we conclude that instruction about law is the best approach, then we should consider whether the four main topics that are suggested:

1. Law as a Social Necessity,
2. How Law Works,
3. Evaluating Legal Processes, and
4. Limits of Law,

are the best organizers for instruction and the most powerful in achieving the understandings that are sought.

Part Four:

Economic Literacy and Citizenship

Introduction to Part Four

Ronald A. Banaszak

Democracy can not flourish without citizens who understand economics. In the following paper, Dr. Brimmer amply demonstrates the importance of economic understanding for effective citizenship. Inflation, recession, the federal deficit, tax reform, social security policies, and international trade are only a few of the important topics that must be dealt with by citizens and that require knowledge of both the political and economic systems. It is quite difficult to think of a political issue that does not have a significant economic dimension.

Effective citizenship education must recognize that our basic systems are interrelated and dependent on one another. Such education produces a holistic and integrated understanding of the systems and institutions that comprise them. The political and economic systems influence one another and are in turn influenced by the values held and ideas produced through the operation of the social system. The systems are dynamic, but converge to function as one. This convergence is no accident or quirk of history. As Michael Novak (1983, 14) has cogently argued, "political democracy is compatible in practice only with a market economy. In turn, both systems nourish and are best nourished by a pluralistic liberal culture. Modern democracy and modern capitalism proceed from the same historical impulses. The logic of democracy and the logic of the market economy strengthen one another. Neither can flourish, however, in the absence of a very special moral-cultural base (1983, 14-16).

Dr. Brimmer discusses a variety of definitions for the discipline of economics, commenting that there is no shortage of brief definitions. All have in common a system for making decisions about the use of productive resources to produce and exchange desired products and services. Ultimately he concludes that the discipline of economics "is what economists do."

Similarly, economic literacy can be defined as the economic understanding needed and applied by citizens. Economic literacy is not casually acquired by simply surviving in our economy. Though we learn about the economy as we work, save, buy, and participate in making important societal economic decisions, the development of economic literacy requires formal instruction in economics. Economic principles "work in ways so subtle that their comprehension cannot be left to intuition or general training in other disciplines" (Stigler 1983). The "folk knowledge" of the economy acquired through life experiences, some of which is correct, contains much that is incomplete or incorrect. Becoming economically literate can be viewed as the process of informing "folk knowledge" with the insights of professional economists and thereby gaining a more complete and accurate understanding of the economy. The civics course commonly taught to eighth- and ninth-grade students provides a viable means for improving student understanding of our economy integrated with an understanding of our political, legal, and social systems.

Economics Tool Kit for Citizens

Dr. Brimmer carefully distinguishes between economists who are "tool makers" and those who are "tool users." Average citizens are not expected to be tool makers, but they do need to be tool users. Economics education for citizens equips them to be effective economics tool users. Dr. Mark Schug in his response concurs. Drs. Brimmer and Schug are not specific about the content of the economics tool kit for citizens, but from Dr. Brimmer's examples of its application, one can surmise that the tool kit includes economic knowledge, decision-making skills and economic values.

Dr. Schug takes a different approach, suggesting that three generalizations or basic premises of economics should be part of every citizen's tool kit: "scarcity means that people have to make choices," "consequences of every choice lie in the future," and "people make purposeful decisions." Such very broad statements provide one useful way to define the economics tool kit. A similar, though longer, list of such generalizations was developed by James E. Davis (1987, 63-64). His list includes the following items:

1. All people choose.
2. All choices involve alternatives.
3. People choose purposefully.
4. People are different and hold different criteria to assess "best" choices.
5. People respond to incentives in a predictable way.
6. People are flexible and dynamic in their tastes.
7. All choices are future-oriented.
8. Individual alternatives are influenced by the choices of others.

Another, more common, approach is to identify a few economic concepts that are so pervasive and important they are usually listed by experts as essential for economic literacy. The paragraphs that follow, though selective and not fully specifying all content needed for economic literacy, briefly present the economic concepts most important for citizenship.

Our economic system uses incentives to influence human behavior by offering financial rewards that permit individuals the ability to make larger claims for products and services. Understanding and employing incentives is a powerful way to influence the economy for individuals attempting to make choices that maximize output and satisfactions, thus promoting self interest. Consumers seek to maximize their satisfaction, workers their wages, producers their profits, and investors their return. Incentives are only effective when they are equally available to all citizens but achieved only by some because of their actions. A society with a free enterprise-based economy can expect unequal results because individuals have varying talents, opportunities, and desires. Our desire, however, to promote our own self-interest cannot be unbridled. It must be rational and socially responsible. This means that self-interest is constrained by our cultural heritage and that our interests usually are best served by making decisions that result in long-term benefits, even if doing so means foregoing short-term advantages.

The principal feature of our economy is the market, the process through which the decisions of individuals and businesses determine the allocation of resources. The forces of supply and demand interact, seeking an equilibrium and registering decisions through price. Exchange occurs within the market and involves trading resources, products, or services. When exchange is voluntary, both sides believe they have gained. Exchange is fundamental, permitting specialization and resulting in more efficient use of resources.

These resources can be human, natural, or capital. All products and services are created by using productive resources. Natural resources are the gifts of nature, such as land, water, and petroleum. Human resources are workers and their abilities. Capital resources, such as tools and factories, have been created through human effort and savings.

In our mixed-market economy, economic decisions are made by individuals and institutions in a process that also involves the government. The role of the government in the economy is an evolving and ever-changing one. Today the government sets and enforces the rules of the economy to prevent individuals or groups from gaining an unfair advantage. The government also attempts to manage the economy through fiscal and monetary policies. Further, the government is a major consumer and producer of products and services. Finally, through the government we attempt to provide support to mediate the circumstances of individuals who do not benefit at a minimum level from our economic system. To meet this need, the government institutes programs to transfer income from individuals who are more successful in the economy to individuals who receive inadequate income from the market place.

Another aspect of the economics tool kit for citizens is the values our society holds for the economy. Dr. Brimmer does not mention these directly, but they are clearly involved in the issues he describes. The most important of these are economic freedom, economic efficiency, equity, security, full employment, stability, justice, and a minimum standard of living for everyone (Saunders et al. 1984, 52-57). These goals not only provide guidance in making individual decisions, but also provide criteria for evaluating progress toward reaching these goals over time. Unfortunately, these goals are often in conflict, and citizens need to make difficult choices or tradeoffs among them. For example, farm price supports, though promoting security for farmers, also reduce efficiency; consumer protection legislation, while providing more security for consumers, may reduce freedom in the marketplace; minimum wage laws, designed to promote income equity, may increase teenage unemployment; and wage-price controls, designed to restrain inflation, also reduce freedom and efficiency. Citizens need to understand these goals and how to choose among them when they conflict. The discipline of economics can inform those choices, but cannot make them.

Each citizen must make such decisions personally; therefore, each citizen needs economic literacy. Because such issues involve the nature of fundamental social goals instead of technical economic knowledge, economic policy issues cannot be delegated by citizens to economic experts. When economists offer advice regarding which policy should be pursued, their advice is based on their own view of what is important. Arguments over subsidized housing, welfare, and urban renewal are not answered by technical knowledge of economics, though that knowledge can be helpful in understanding the situation and the consequences of various policy actions. The conflicts involved in such issues are conflicts over social goals. Economics cannot clarify or solve goal debates. Citizens need to be knowledgeable enough about economics to intelligently reflect on public policy issues and make informed decisions about policies likely to achieve their goals.

While neither Drs. Brimmer nor Schug address it directly, economic reasoning is the third part of the tool kit. Because its core concept is choice, economics is an ideal subject for developing decision-making skills. In the conduct of everyday life, citizen choices have both a personal and a societal effect. Personal choices about which goods to purchase help determine what and how much the economy will produce. How well workers choose to do their jobs affects the quality and efficiency of their work and the competitiveness of the United States in world markets.

Economic decision making is a logical reasoning process using economic concepts and generalizations. The common model of economic decision making consists of these six steps:

1. Clearly identify the details of the decision situation.
2. Determine what personal and social goals are to be attained.
3. Identify alternative decisions.
4. Consider each alternative and its consequences.
5. Decide on the best alternative for reaching the desired goals.
6. Review and evaluate the decision.

When considering alternatives and consequences, some important economic relationships need to be considered. Among these are the laws of supply and demand, scarcity, opportunity cost, production possibilities, cost/benefit analysis, long-term effect, marginal analysis, and sunk costs.

Through economic reasoning, individuals try to manage the use of their limited resources in ways that will lead to the most complete fulfillment of their goals. In general, a resource should be diverted from less important to more important uses. Doing so requires an understanding of what one personally values in order to determine which choice is most likely to further those values. Decisions among alternatives involve values. The discipline of economics provides information about the probable consequences of various policy alternatives. Economic reasoning gives individuals the tools to choose those alternatives that will best further personal and societal goals.

Economics for Young Adolescents

Economics is an important topic for citizens to understand and is well-suited for study by young adolescents taking a civics course. It allows parallel development of their introspective and extrospective exploration of human activity. Young adolescents face dramatic psychological, emotional, physical, and social changes. They are also beginning to be held responsible for their actions. Many students are bewildered by the alternatives, choices, and responsibilities they are confronted with as they enter adolescence. Unaccustomed to responsibility, they sometimes deny it or handle it badly. Studying economics can help students cope with their new decisions and responsibilities.

Economics can assist students in understanding such questions as: What employable skills do I have? Why should I work? What determines wages and prices? How does one gain food, clothing, and shelter? Why do people work together for their material well-being? Economic reasoning is not and should not be restricted to material matters, however. Economic reasoning can help young adolescents as they make decisions regarding human relationships, such as selecting friends, dating behavior, and whether or not to use drugs.

The work of Dr. Ronald Banaszak (1988, 38) on teaching economics to young adolescents has led him to propose the following four additional reasons why the study of economics is especially appropriate for young adolescents.

1. These students are developing new cognitive abilities permitting more sophisticated and adult ways of reasoning. They are moving from concrete to abstract reasoning. This change helps them reason about physical and social events that are unobserved and unobservable. Such changes in thinking mean that students are able to consider economics not as isolated concepts, but as an integrated system.
2. During their early teens, young people are increasingly involved and aware of their involvement in our economic system. They begin to recognize that they are part of a world larger and more complex than their immediate family and community. They are

an increasingly significant factor in the labor force and their spending power is significant, too. Further, they are beginning to think seriously about their future occupations.

3. Young adolescents are forming their attitudes. The study of economics provides an opportunity to present students with factual information that students can use to build their own attitudes, whatever those attitudes are.
4. Since most young adolescents are still enrolled in Grades 7-10 regardless of their intelligence, socioeconomic background, or career goals, economic education aimed at these grades has the potential of reaching almost every student, unlike the more traditional twelfth-grade elective economics course.

Conclusion

Economic literacy is essential to effective citizenship. Economics is pervasive, touching a variety of aspects of our personal and social lives. It is extremely difficult to think of a contemporary political issue that does not have a significant economic dimension. Without an economics tool kit, citizens cannot fully understand and deal with the issues discussed by Andrew Brimmer in the paper that follows.

The study of economics brings a great deal to the civics curriculum. Economics is more than just a body of knowledge describing how particular institutions in society function. It is also a mode of analysis. Economic reasoning is a powerful tool with widespread applications. Wherever choices are to be made, economics can be of assistance. And because economic issues involve reaching desired ends, citizens need to personally participate in shaping public policy. Moreover, as Mark Schug points out in his response to Dr. Brimmer's paper, important civic values, such as personal responsibility, are underscored through economic education.

Despite its reputation as an abstract, "dismal" science, economics need not be either. Indeed, if economic education is to be effective with young adolescents, it *must* not be either. Appropriately tailored to the needs, interests, abilities, and experiences of young adolescents, economic education can endow students with knowledge, skills, and values essential to the effective exercise of democratic citizenship in the twenty-first century.

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Nature and Content of Contemporary Economics

Andrew F. Brimmer

The task assigned to me called for my assessment of the content of economics (knowledge, skills, attitudes). I have interpreted this to mean that I should identify the main themes in contemporary economic theory, analysis, and applications, and indicate the directions in which the profession is moving.

Economics does not have sharply delineated boundaries, but the domain has been defined broadly—and differently—from time to time. For example, in the late nineteenth century Alfred Marshall (an Englishman who was the leading economist of his day) said that economics is ". . . a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the attainment and with the use of the material requisites of well-being" (1948, 41). A generation or more later, another leading English economist, Lionel Robbins, claimed economics "is concerned with that aspect of behaviour which arises from the scarcity of means to achieve given ends" (1972, 24).

More recently, Paul A. Samuelson, undoubtedly the most eminent economist today, offered the following description:

> On first encountering economics, people want a short definition. In response to this demand, there is no shortage of supply. Here are a few popular definitions.
>
> Economics is the study of those activities that involve production and exchange among people.
>
> Economics analyzes movements in the overall economy—trends in price, output and employment. Once such phenomena are understood, economics helps develop the policies by which governments can affect the overall economy.
>
> Economics is the science of choice. It studies how people choose to use the *scarce* or *limited* productive resources (land, labor, equipment, technical knowledge) to produce various commodities (such as wheat, beef, overcoats, concrete, roads, missiles) and distribute these goods to various members of the society for their consumption.
>
> Economics is the study of how human beings go about the business of organizing consumption and production activities.
>
> Economics is the study of money, interest rates, capital and wealth.
>
> Economists today agree on a general definition something like the following:

> Economics is the study of how people and society choose to employ scarce resources that could have alternative uses in order to produce various commodities, and to distribute them for consumption, now or in the future, among various persons and groups in society (1980, 2).

Within the rough boundaries sketched above, the contents of economics can be divided into the following broad areas:

1. Macroeconomics: The focus is on the behavior of the economy as a whole—on output, income, prices, and unemployment.
2. Microeconomics: The focus here is on the behavior of individual elements in an economy—including the determination of the price of a single product or the behavior of a single consumer or business firm.
3. Development Economics: This subject seeks to identify and assess the factors responsible for self-sustaining economic growth—with the aim of determining the extent to which these factors can be influenced by public policy.

In the most general sense, economics is what economists do. Most of them specialize in one or more of the more narrowly defined branches of economics. They can be further classified as "tool makers" or "tool users." The tool makers are typically those working at the frontier of the discipline—formulating new theories to explain various aspects of economic behavior or devising new techniques of economic analysis. Membership in this group is very limited. The vast majority of economists are tool users. They are the journeymen who apply the economist's existing tool kit to teach economics, to analyze and assess economic problems, and to recommend changes in policies (both public and private) to improve economic performance.

The main tool-making areas in economics include:
Economic Theory,
Mathematical Economics,
Econometrics.

The main applied areas include:
Money, Banking, and Monetary Policy,
Public Finance and Fiscal Policy,
International Economics,
Labor Economics,
Industrial Organization,
Growth and Development,
Agriculture.

Other areas of specialization include:
Economic History,
Business Cycles,
Economic Forecasting,

Managerial Economics,
Regional Economics,
Public Utilities,
Economics of Natural Resources,
Consumer Economics,
Economic Geography,
Comparative Economic Systems.

Frontiers in Economics

The foundations of economics are being modified constantly by a handful of economists working at the frontier of the discipline. The nature and importance of their contributions are recognized and illustrated by the award of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science.

Year	Recipient	Citation
1969	Ragnor Frisch, Oslo University, Norway; Jan Tinbergen, Netherlands School of Economics, Rotterdam	Honored for the development of mathematical models for analyzing economic activity.
1970	Paul A. Samuelson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA	Cited for the development of static and dynamic theory mainly through use of mathematics. Stellar advances in theory of general equilibrium.
1971	Simon Kuznets, Harvard University, USA	Honored for his contribution to national income accounting, which made possible the measurement of comparative economic growth among nations.
1972	Kenneth J. Arrow, Harvard University, USA; John R. Hicks, Oxford University, Great Britain	For their separate pioneering work in the highly abstract field of equilibrium theory, the essence of which holds that a state of balance exists when competing economic forces cancel each other out.
1973	Wassily Leontief, Harvard University, USA	For the origination of "input-output" techniques that permit the quantification and study of specific interdependencies in an economy and their use in forecasting major trends.
1974	Friedrich Von Hayek, Salzburg University, Austria; Gunnar Myrdal, Stockholm University, Sweden	Cited for separate, stellar contributions to monetary analysis (macroeconomics), with emphasis on business cycles and inflation.

1975	Leonid V. Kantorovich, Institute of Economic Management, Moscow, USSR; Tjalling C. Koopmans, Yale University, USA	For their separate work on economic planning—particularly linear programming and other techniques for solving problems involved in deciding upon an optimum allocation of resources.
1976	Milton Friedman, University of Chicago, USA	For his achievements in the fields of consumption analysis, monetary history and theory, and for his demonstration of the complexity of stabilization policy. Principal originator of "monetarism."
1977	James E. Meade, Cambridge University, Great Britain; Bertil Ohlin, Stockholm School of Business Administration, Sweden	For their separate contributions to international trade theory.
1978	Herbert A. Simon, Carnegie-Mellon University, USA	Selected because of his contributions to organization and decision-making theory, with special emphasis on computer modeling of information handling in business firms.
1979	W. Arthur Lewis, Princeton University, USA; Theodore W. Schultz, University of Chicago, USA	For their work in developmental economics. Lewis formulated models that seek to explain basic problems of underdevelopment. Schultz examined the critical role of agriculture in economic development.
1980	Lawrence R. Klein, University of Pennsylvania, USA	For his work on econometric models and their application to the analysis of business cycles and macroeconomics policies.
1981	James Tobin, Yale University, USA	For the origination of portfolio theory—which stresses optimum investment decisions in financial markets as well as in markets for physical assets.
1982	George J. Stigler, University of Chicago, USA	Cited for seminal studies in industrial structures, the functioning of markets, and the causes and effects of public regulation.
1983	Gerard Debreu, University of California-Berkeley, USA	For contributions to mathematical economics and general equilibrium theory.
1984	Richard Stone, Cambridge University, Great Britain	For creating a national accounting system for monitoring the financial position of nations, tracking trends in comparing the workings of economic systems.

1985	Franco Modigliani, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA	For his analysis of behavior of household savers and of the market valuation of firm, i.e., the relationship of a company's financial structure to the value placed on its stock by investors.
1986	James M. Buchanan, George Mason University, USA	For contributions to public choice theory, which stresses methods for analyzing economic and political decision making.
1987	Robert N. Solow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA	For seminal contributions to the theory of economic growth—particularly for his development of a mathematical model demonstrating that long-term growth depends on technological progress and is not driven solely by increases in capital and labor.

Several conclusions can be drawn from a review of the citations of Nobel Prize winners. First, in keeping with the criteria of the Selection Committee, the emphasis has been on the "scientific" aspects of the economists' work. By "scientific," the Committee appears to single out the theoretical and analytical contributions as opposed to policy prescriptions. This has also meant a particularly sharp focus on mathematical economics, econometrics, and statistics, although most awards cited multiple fields. For example, of the nineteen Prize Awards, eleven cited contributions in mathematical economics. Six of these were in combination with general equilibrium theory, another six with pure economic theory, four each with econometrics and monetary (macroeconomic) analysis, and three with economic growth. Second, the applied fields were represented rather lightly: monetary analysis (six); agriculture (one); industrial organization (one); and international trade (one).

Differential Emphasis in Economic Research

The kinds of research that interest economists can be seen in the record of publications. There are several hundred periodicals devoted primarily to the publication of research by economists. For instance, in June 1988, the *Journal of Economic Literature* (published by the American Economic Association) listed the contents of 303 journals and other periodicals. About two dozen of these published a wide range of manuscripts covering general economic topics, and the rest were devoted to coverage of specialized fields.

The American Economic Review (also published by the American Economic Association) is the flagship of the economics profession. The distribution of published manuscripts—by subject matter—for the years 1981, 1982, 1986, and 1987, is shown in Table 1. It will be noted that microeconomic theory has accounted for the largest percentage (13.6 percent) of the

American Economic Review

Subject Matter Distribution of Published Manuscripts, 1981, 1982, 1986, and 1987

Subject Area	1981		1982		1986		1987	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
General Economics and General Equilibrium Theory	6	5.2	6	5.0	9	7.4	4	4.0
Microeconomic Theory	20	17.4	17	14.2	13	10.7	12	12.1
Macroeconomic Theory	4	3.5	4	3.3	12	9.9	8	8.0
Welfare Theory and Social Choice	11	9.6	8	6.7	1	0.8	3	3.0
Economic History, History of Thought, Methodology	7	6.1	3	2.5	7	5.8	1	1.0
Economic Systems	1	0.9	2	1.7	1	0.8	1	1.0
Economic Growth, Development, Planning, Fluctuations	3	2.6	13	10.8	6	5.0	2	2.0
Economic Statistics and Quantitative Methods	6	5.2	6	5.0	2	1.7	2	2.0
Monetary and Financial Theory and Institutions	8	7.0	11	9.2	6	5.0	6	6.1
Fiscal Policy and Public Finance	6	5.2	8	6.7	18	14.9	9	9.1
International Economics	13	11.3	8	6.7	8	6.6	8	8.1
Administration, Business Finance	5	4.3	2	1.7	4	3.3	0	0.0
Industrial Organization	10	8.7	7	5.8	14	11.6	25	25.3
Agriculture, National Resources	1	0.9	3	2.5	1	0.8	4	4.0
Manpower, Labor Population	10	8.7	14	11.7	13	10.7	7	7.1
Walfare Programs, Consumer Economics, Urban and Regional Economics	4	3.5	8	6.7	6	5.0	7	7.1
Total	115	100.0	120	100.0	121	100.0	99	100.0

Source: Calculations by Brimmer & Company. Data from *The American Economic Review*, May 1983 and May 1988.

articles in the four years combined. In second place was industrial organization (12.8 percent), but the bulk of these appeared in 1987. Third place rank was held by manpower-labor (9.5 percent), followed by fiscal policy and public finance (9.0 percent), and international economics (8.2 percent).

Another indication of the direction of contemporary research in economics is provided by data on the subject matter distribution of doctoral dissertations. The figures for 1982 and 1987 are shown in Table 2.

In 1987, the most popular area for graduate students was general economics—which includes economic theory. This field accounted for 15.3 percent of the dissertations. The second most popular area was international trade (13.9 percent), followed by monetary-fiscal theory and policy (13.7 percent), and industrial organization and manpower-labor economics (each with 11.5 percent). In 1982, the most popular field was economic growth and development (14.1 percent). In second place was agriculture and natural resources (13.4 percent). General economics ranked third (11.8 percent), followed by international economics (10.6 percent), and industrial organization (11.4 percent).

In the typical dissertation, the author formulated one or more theoretical propositions or developed a theoretical model that could be tested quantitatively. In the vast majority of cases, the implications of the results for public, household, or business policies were explored.

Selected Issues in Economic Analysis and Policy

As indicated above, economists are engaged in the examination of a wide range of issues with public and private policy implications. In this activity, they rely heavily on their tool kit of economic statistics, theoretical models, and applications. Several examples will illustrate the analytical bases of their policy recommendations.

First, the kind of issues that might be confronted by citizens at the household level will be discussed. Next to be examined are several questions that might have to be confronted by business firms (where most of us work) and by industries. Illustrations are then drawn from among policy issues facing both the national and international economies. Finally, some comments will be made regarding comparative economic systems.

Individuals and Households

Undoubtedly, in the future, medical care will be an increasing economic problem. Costs are rising, and there is a general lack of coverage. There is also a question of private vs. federal government supported health insurance. How should we choose? Should we be guided by—and limited to—the minimum costs of medical services that an informed citizen would choose to pay? It seems clear that in the future, an increasing proportion of the household budget will have to be devoted to medical care. How should we provide it, private vs. public, and who should pay the costs?

Table 2

Doctoral Dissertations in Economics, 1982 and 1987

Subject Area	1982 Number	1982 Percent	1987 Number	1987 Percent
General Economics including Economic Theory, History of Thought, Methodology, Economic History and Economic System	93	11.8	80	15.3
Economic Growth and Development including Economic Planning Theory and Policy; Economic Fluctuations and Forecasting	111	14.1	42	8.0
Quantitative Economic Methods and Data including Econometric Methods, Economic and Social Accounting	32	4.1	17	3.2
Monetary and Fiscal Theory, Policy, and Institutions	73	9.2	72	13.7
International Economics	84	10.6	73	13.9
Business Administration including Business Finance and Investment, Marketing and Accounting	72	9.1	11	2.1
Industrial Organization and Public Policy including Economics and Technological Change and Industry Studies	82	10.4	60	11.5
Agriculture and Natural Resources	106	13.4	56	10.7
Manpower, Labor, and Population including Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining	75	9.5	60	11.5
Welfare Programs, Consumer Economics, Urban and Regional Economics	62	7.8	53	10.1
Total	790	100.0	524	100.0

Source: Calculations by Brimmer & Company, Inc. Data from *The American Economic Review*, December 1982 and the *Journal of Economic Literature*, December 1987.

The Social Security system will raise similar issues. With an aging population, by the early twenty-first century, we will have a growing number of dependents who are not working. They will be mainly older persons being supported by a shrinking number of workers. In other words, who will be paying the retirement costs? For more than fifty years, we have had a Social Security system in which the costs are covered by payroll taxes. The latter are intended to generate surpluses that will pay the costs of retirement in the future. Those costs are being borne by employed persons in the population, since they are paying the taxes to support the retired, non-working segment. It should be kept in mind that, as presently constituted, the Social Security system is not an annuity system. It is a system under which we pretend to make premium payments through payroll deductions. But, in fact, recipients of Social Security benefits are collecting payments from revenue raised by a payroll tax. The costs and benefits of the Social Security system will be debated continuously in the future.

In a similar vein, we will have to face the issues posed by poverty and welfare benefits. As is generally known, there is a sharp variation in the demographics of poverty. Poverty is concentrated especially among blacks and other minorities. But poverty rates are also high among whites with few skills. I believe that, over time, the gap between skill requirements and skill development will widen. Consequently, more and more people may find themselves left in a backwater unable to compete for the higher skilled, higher paying jobs. The net result will be the persistence of a sizable fraction of the population entrapped in poverty. This is an economic problem with which we will have to struggle continuously in the future.

Pricing of public utility services poses an issue of choice that is upon us today. Households have to confront this economic problem every time they pay their electric and telephone bills. Here we have a very striking example of an economic problem resulting from the deregulation of the telephone system. When AT&T was broken up and regional companies were established, we put in place a payment system designed to assure that users would pay the full cost of service. The old system involved substantial subsidies. Business firms, long distance customers, and the advertising revenue from yellow pages subsidized the cost of household telephone use. For example, a study we did in my company for AT&T indicated that, in 1975, the full cost of a single household telephone averaged sixteen dollars per month. The revenue was nine dollars per month paid by a household. Where did the other seven dollars come from? It was made up by subsidies from over-payments by long distance, business, and yellow page customers. Those subsidies were wiped out with the breakup of AT&T, and households now have to pay the full cost of residential service. There will be additional examples of pricing and cost allocation questions in the future.

The economics of the underground economy will clearly interest citizens. What do I mean by the "underground economy"? Basically we are talking about unrecorded transactions that occur outside of the tax system. And I am not talking simply about the drug culture, although that is included. Examples of the underground economy include (1) a physician who agrees with a carpenter to provide medical service in exchange for carpentry; (2) a handyman who gets paid in cash rather than by a check so it does not show up on his income tax, and (3) a mechanic who repairs automobiles in his spare time. I believe that a considerable part of total economic activity will continue to be underground in the future. How do we identify it and assure that participants pay their fair share of taxes?

Labor Market

As you know, in this country the typical worker has to go out and search for a job. Most of us get new jobs or get promoted through local exchange of information at work. But, as I mentioned earlier, skills will become much more critical in the years ahead. At the same time, the individual might find it increasingly difficult to match skills with available jobs or to have the information to do so.

The minimum wage is a perennial issue, and I believe it will typify the kind of policy question that will confront us in the future. Most economists believe that a legislated minimum wage will most likely raise costs of hiring some prospective employees to the point where it exceeds their productivity. Therefore, the minimum wage is likely to price them out of the market. What about the economic—as opposed to the social—basis of a minimum wage? This is an issue that is before the Congress today.

Let us look briefly at trade unions. These are institutions whose lives are in danger. I believe that, over time, organized labor will play a diminishing role through collective bargaining to set wages, hours, and working conditions. As an economic institution, the trade union will continue to exist, but we will see a transformation of its functions. Citizens should be aware of this trend, and they should understand its implications.

Business Firms and Efficiency

In our economy, innovation has taken place as much in individual medium-to-small-size firms as in big companies. But, there is also an increasing tendency for output to be concentrated in bigger firms as opposed to smaller enterprises. If one were to make a distribution of firms by size in any industry, one would notice that an increased share of the total output is likely to be concentrated in bigger firms. Given the high rates of mergers and acquisitions, the average size of the firm is getting bigger. That has a number of implications—for innovation, for efficiency, and for the distribution of economic power. Citizens will need to know some economics in order to appreciate the difficult issues that are being posed. They will also have to form judgments about the appropriateness of public policies with respect to mergers and acquisitions. We see takeovers occurring every day. As a stockholder each of us must ask a number of questions: Would I benefit if there were a takeover of the whole firm and the present management thrown out? Are these short-run or long-term benefits? We need to know how to vote our shares. Do we get our short-term gains and run, or do we stay for the long haul? These are the kinds of issues we will have to confront increasingly.

Pricing of Natural Resources

How to price and maximize the efficient use of natural resources is a persistent economic issue. For example, in California, agriculture uses a major proportion of all the water in the state. In the Central Valley, a farmer can produce crops (e.g., cotton) using that water with a value of about three hundred dollars an acre. But if that farmer were to give up an acre of water and send it to Los Angeles, it would be valued at six hundred dollars an acre. How can the price system resolve these competing demands? How can the economic decision be made with respect to the alternative claims on that water? This is typical of the critical questions about pricing of natural resources that must be faced. It is the kind of issue on which citizens may have to vote, and they will need guidance on how to make those judgments.

Environmental Costs

One hears much about acid rain, water pollution, chemical dumps, and other environmental hazards. These are what economists call "external diseconomies." They arise in numerous ways. For instance, a firm might produce a commodity—e.g., steel—and in the process emit a certain amount of ash into the atmosphere. It produces steel at a given cost per ton. If that firm were required to install scrubbers or other devices to filter the smoke, steel would cost much more per ton. Who should pay for the investment? That is the kind of problem that environmental economics will encounter in the future. Should the citizens who live near the plant continue to suffer the ill effects of pollution? Should the firm and its customers or stockholders pay? The real cost is there, and it must be paid.

Monopoly and Competition

All of us know about the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). There is no doubt in my own mind that, when OPEC was successful, it raised the world price of petroleum well above the competitive level. That was a cost that had to be borne by the users of petroleum. On the other hand, OPEC was able to raise the revenue received by the owners—the petroleum exporting countries—of oil reserves. So the oil exporters benefited. Thus, in this cost-benefit contest, the members of OPEC benefited the most. We need to be able to understand the behavior of firms in industries where there are few sellers.

Macroeconomic Policy

In the area of macroeconomic policy, one or two examples can be selected. First, let us consider economic growth vs. inflation. Economists have learned how to promote national economic growth. For example, we know that if we cut taxes we stimulate consumption, and this will probably boost the economy to a higher level of output. That, in turn, will generate jobs. We also know how to stop economic growth. The Federal Reserve can always raise interest rates and shrink the money supply enough to produce a recession. If the recession is deep enough, it will stop inflation. The Federal Reserve did that. From 1979 through 1982 there were two recessions—deep ones. The first one started in 1980, and it was short; it lasted six months. But there was a long one from the late summer of 1981 to the end of 1982. The Federal Reserve created those recessions to stop inflation. It succeeded. But the cost was high. Unemployment rose to over ten percent. The beneficiaries were those who suffer from inflation, and that is most of us. The losers were those who lost their jobs. How can one judge that kind of a trade-off: inflation vs. growth? This is a continuing economic problem at the national level.

The federal budget deficit is another. We know today that the deficit is running in the neighborhood of $140 to $150 billion—having moved down from the neighborhood of $200 billion. A deficit of this magnitude causes substantial dislocations, including higher interest rates and reduced availability of funds in the private sector. The deficit resulted mainly from the large tax reduction of 1981—and not from a burst of Federal spending. The persistence of the large deficit has sparked a continuing debate. How to cope with it is an issue that will have to be confronted far into the future.

International Economics

In the area of international economics, the issue of free trade vs. protection is long-running. Do we benefit the most from producing and selling abroad those goods where we have a comparative advantage? By the latter, we mean that we can produce two or more products better than other countries, but there are certain things that we can produce very much better. For us, the latter include computers and airplanes. We should also include agricultural products. We once had a substantial share of the world trade in agricultural products. Our Midwest was the world's premier breadbasket, and we dominated world trade in corn, soybeans, and wheat. So it is not just in high-tech manufacturers that we had a comparative advantage; we had it in agriculture as well. So should we concentrate on the production and export of those commodities in those areas where we have a comparative advantage and import those items which we can produce only at much higher costs? The debate goes on. The trade bill that just went through Congress focused directly on these types of issues, and they will have to be faced perennially. Canadians are now debating a free trade treaty with the United States, and the forces favoring protection are quite strong.

We will always be confronted with international trade and finance issues. They will grow in the future because the economy is becoming increasingly global, not only ours, but other economies as well. So we need to know something about international economics. We will have to be able to make judgments about foreign trade and other aspects of international economic policy. Similarly, the world's financial markets are becoming much more integrated. Capital flows are much more responsive to developments beyond our borders. We need to know more about these developments.

Comparative Economic Systems

We ought to have some understanding of the competition between our market-oriented economy and the centrally planned economies of the Soviet Union, China, and the countries of Eastern Europe. We also should be able to appreciate the fact that increasingly, even in centrally planned economies, they are experimenting with market elements. Recently, I heard on the radio that the new chief of ideology in the Soviet Union (a Communist Party official whose job it is to tell the Soviets what to think and how to think it) said that a centrally planned economy ought to be the hallmark of the Soviet economic system. However, he said, they should experiment increasingly with the introduction of key elements of market economies which might help improve productivity. I was in China this spring. The thing that stood out everywhere I went—not only in Bejing but also in three other cities I visited (and some of them a second time)—was that people were talking about a market economy. One sees people actively engaged in the market economy. My expectation is that these trends will continue into the future. We will need to know more about them.

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Economics in the Civics Curriculum: A Reaction to Andrew F. Brimmer

Mark C. Schug

Dr. Brimmer has done an excellent job of identifying emerging economic concerns. I especially like his characterization of economics as a tool kit. This metaphor reminds us of the importance of helping young people examine important social questions by using principles of economics as the tool for analysis. Dr. Brimmer has also stressed the importance of teaching about macroeconomics and international economics. These are areas in which students tend to have a weak understanding.

Building an Economics Tool Kit

One way that we might be able to build an economics tool kit is by placing more stress on the basic premises of economics. These premises can be thought of as a set of generalizations about economic behavior. One example is that scarcity means that people have to make choices. In economics, we often speak about the importance of choice making. We teach that every choice involves a cost. Students can use this generalization to help them analyze current concerns such as the economics of national health insurance or the economics of pricing natural resources.

A second generalization might be that the consequences of every choice lie in the future. Other choices are history lessons. By applying this generalization, students learn to distinguish between opportunity costs, which reflect people's expectations about the future, and sunk costs, which reflect decisions which are already made and cannot be changed.

A third generalization is that people make purposeful decisions. Why do people sometimes exhibit what we might consider to be puzzling economic behavior? When we analyze their behavior using our economics tool kit, we begin to understand why people do what they do. For example, students might wonder why there are lines in front of stores in the Soviet Union. Why are people willing to spend days waiting to get fresh produce? Why are agricultural products not more plentiful? Our tool kit should provide young people with the answers to these questions.

Here is another example from *Capstone: The Nation's High School Economics Course*. In this program, we ask high school students to consider why people in Cuba in the 1980s used restaurants as if they were grocery stores. Cubans go to restaurants, order a great deal of food, and take it home to eat it. What's going on? Is there some cultural quirk about living in Cuba? Students with a good economics tool kit would begin to predict why this happens. They would assume that Cubans must be making purposeful decisions. They would also know that rules influence people's behavior. In Cuba, people with extra income cannot purchase all that they like in grocery stores because many products are rationed. However, restaurants are not subject to rationing rules.

Economic Values for Citizenship

Fundamental to citizenship education is the identification of values to instill in young people. Are there substantive values that we could learn from economics that might help inform the content of a civics program? Most discussions of economic values involve the distinction between normative economics (judgments about economic policy) and positive economics (scientific predictions or descriptions). I don't think that this distinction is very helpful for our purposes here today. Instead, I would like to suggest three values derived from the discipline of economics. I think that these and other examples might be worthy of inclusion in a civics program.

First, individuals are responsible for their own actions. In economics, we often speak about the importance of individual choice. When people make their own choices, they are responsible for those choices. Responsibility of choice making is not obvious to everyone. In many situations, the choices we have to make involve high stakes. It may seem as if we have no choice. But I think an important value that we need to communicate to young people is that they do have responsibility for their own actions.

A second value drawn from economics is that private property builds freedom and personal responsibility. Private property is one of the main ingredients that makes our system work. As Professor Brimmer has observed, economists in countries like China and the Soviet Union are now beginning to experiment with quasi-private ownership of farms and factories. We should illustrate for students how private property builds freedom and at the same time builds responsibility.

Finally, people should not impose unwanted costs on others. For example, students often arrive late to class and interrupt instruction. Usually, the teacher describes this as an example of discourteous behavior. In economic terms, this is a case of students imposing unwanted costs on others. Or, you go to a movie and the people next to you are chatting away. They are imposing a cost that you never agreed to pay. If they want the benefit of conversation while watching a film, then they should pay for it. For example, the movie theatre should build a booth for people who wish to talk during the film and charge an additional fee for this benefit.

Let me make just one final point. I've read the papers presented at this conference. My challenge to the participants at this conference is to examine these papers and identify examples of how these ideas could translate into good teaching or sound instructional material. We need more specific examples to help translate these powerful ideas into meaningful classroom instruction.

Part Five:

Social Perspectives on Education for Citizenship

Introduction to Part Five

William T. Callahan, Jr.

An essential finding of political science is that politics is fundamentally a group-based activity. Understanding the interaction of groups and individuals, however, is the domain of the discipline of sociology. Accordingly, sociological insights can be important resources for understanding the dynamics of civic life. Indeed, it has been asserted that civic reasoning cannot be taught, learned, or even considered independently of the social setting in which it will occur (Parker 1987, 2).

Content about the social system rarely appears in the traditional civics curriculum. Civic education typically subordinates the importance of groups to alleged individual relationships between isolated citizens and political institutions. This is most unfortunate, because failure to study, appreciate, and understand the role of private associations and voluntary activities in American society has contributed to an erosion of the sense of community that undergirds classical conceptions of citizenship if not of democratic society itself. Many observers now believe that revitalizing commitment to community will require that students perform actual community service as well as receive formal instruction about the social system in the civics curriculum.

In order to describe social system content appropriate for civic education in the twenty-first century, both the structure and the direction of American society must be accounted for. Matlock, Short, and Watts approach this task by delving beneath the conflicting theoretical frameworks of sociology to unearth their shared dimensions of analysis. These are aspects of the sociological perspective that cut across divergent theories. By examining institutional elements of the social infrastructure (e.g., economy, family), social processes (e.g., community, ethnicity), and value systems pertaining to citizenship, Matlock, Short, and Watts develop a social context to inform and enrich civic education. In her response, Carla Howery emphasizes how the sociological perspective can help eighth- and ninth-grade civics students better understand society.

Matlock, Short, and Watts present an overview of demographic and social trends that is reminiscent of Harold Hodgkinson's opening address, but the sociological perspective on these phenomena is broader and emphasizes their human dimension. World population growth, for example, will not only have economic and ecological consequences, but emotional effects as well. During the twenty-first century, famine and starvation are likely to occur on an unprecedented scale in the Third World. American citizens face the trauma of witnessing it on television. Similarly, changing family forms mean that, as Matlock and his colleagues argue, "many children will not experience the family as a cohesive microcosm of society. The disorder and anomie of their family lives may be projected onto the larger society," further damaging what many contend is already a very fragile social order. On a more instrumental level, it is clear that civics can no longer portray the "Norman Rockwell family" as the typical, if not the ideal, family form. The traditional American family consisting of a working father, a housewife mother, and two school-age children has all but disappeared.

Following Harold Hodgkinson, Matlock and his colleagues inventory a wide variety of demographic and social trends pressuring the educational system to assume key socialization functions once performed by the family. The prime aspect of these heightened socialization functions is responsibility for the transference of the American cultural core, the very basis of society. Although difficult to define in all of its particulars—witness the controversy surrounding such attempts as *Cultural Literacy* (Hirsch 1988)—the core is the bedrock of knowledge, belief and practice that binds our diverse society into a functioning whole. It is the centrifugal force that counterbalances the centripetal tendencies of pluralism.

Government of, by, and for the people requires a populace with the civic intelligence to create, maintain, and change its institutions and practices as needed. Such a citizenry, however, can only be sustained by a particular kind of social climate, one that provides the individual with a sense of connectedness and obligation to the larger society. Democratic "habits of the heart" (de Tocqueville 1969, 287) are cultivated, nurtured, and maintained by what sociologists refer to as "community." Community is the most important concept discussed by Matlock and his colleagues, and its restoration is the most important citizenship issue they address.

Community is more than simply a geographic designation or "a residential enclave chosen as a place in which to pursue appropriate private lifestyles" (Bellah et al. 1985, 74). The establishment and maintenance of community involves the successful negotiation of the private-public tension, balancing individualism and civic-mindedness, autonomy and commitment, private and public happiness. In a functioning community, individuals join with others in voluntary associations for the public good. They find fulfillment in commitments beyond the expressive or utilitarian self. Human mutuality and interdependence are recognized and celebrated. Shared meanings are actively constructed, and the core culture evolves as people of diverse beliefs and backgrounds integrate their differences through public discourse and engagement. In David Mathews' parlance, they practice the "politics of transformation."

Commitment to community is essential to freedom and democracy, but as many recent scholars have noted, Americans' sense of community seems to be eroding (Bellah et al. 1985; Etzioni 1983; Lasch 1977; Riesman et al. 1950). Individualism and commitment are growing out of balance. A culture of narcissism grounded in extreme individualism and single-minded pursuit of self-interest threatens to undermine our culture of coherence. Signs of the damage already done to the social ecology are everywhere to be seen: in declining levels of political participation, in glorification of careerism and pragmatic gain, in the rise of single-issue interest groups and in epidemic drug and alcohol abuse, to name but a few.

Matlock, Short, and Watts assert that the most meaningful way in which education can assist in mending the social fabric of the nation is to incorporate a community service requirement into the eighth- and ninth-grade civics curriculum. Through community service, students would become active participants in the community and come to know it better; experience belonging, alleviating the anomie and alienation that often characterize adolescence; experience working for the good of others, enhancing their civic virtue; and interact with other groups, bringing meaning to abstract concepts of cultural difference and pluralism. Along with the "conceptual guideposts" provided by formal instruction about the social system, a service requirement would equip students for active involvement in revitalizing the sense of community crucial to the continued health and prosperity of the nation. In a very real sense, it would allow them to contribute to the creation of themselves as good citizens.

In her response to Matlock, Short, and Watts, Carla Howery offers a well-constructed and concise analysis of the advantages of "pushing the margins" of traditional civics to incorporate study of the social system. In addition to elaborating on the contributions Matlock, Short, and Watts make to this effort, she develops several additional justifications for the inclusion of "teen sociology" in the middle school civics curriculum. Most important is her explicit treatment of the element of humanity it brings to the curriculum. The issues of the twenty-first century are not purely or even primarily technological; they are also social. As Dr. Howery points out, the chain of command had as much to do with the Challenger tragedy as did O-rings. The technical ability exists (or soon will) to create entirely new forms of life and to manipulate the characteristics of our offspring. Whether, when, and how we chose to use these capabilities are social, not scientific issues.

In a related vein, Dr. Howery makes the case that the social sciences, including sociology, need to provide students with the ability to separate opinion and value statements from fact. Life in the twenty-first century will be information-rich beyond man's wildest dreams. Skill in how to find needed information, critically assess its quality, and utilize it to make "fast and focused" decisions will be required for effective citizen participation. Without these skills, the abundance of information may have a disenfranchising rather than a liberating effect.

Twenty-first century American society will be marked by an entirely new order of pluralism. A key challenge to civility will be the management of diversity. Citizens will need an understanding of group dynamics, attitudes of tolerance, and practical skills in conflict resolution and mediation. A civics curriculum featuring formal instruction in key sociological concepts and direct community involvement, Dr. Howery asserts, can make an important contribution to preparing students for the challenges lying before them.

In addition to offering a different perspective on some of the issues broached by Harold Hodgkinson and David Mathews in their keynote addresses, the two social content papers stimulated lively discussions along two main lines. In the first instance, they engendered a wide-ranging consideration of the concept of a core culture. Debate over what knowledge, concepts, and values constitute "cultural literacy" was at times quite heated. Everyone seemed to agree that citizens need it, but no one was able to define it to everyone else's satisfaction. Moreover, there was recognition that whatever the core culture may consist of today, it will of necessity be at least somewhat different in the twenty-first century. The successful management of the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of American society will require both the *assimilation of* new groups into the core culture and the evolution of the cultural core to incorporate *contributions from* new groups. The cultural core "lives" in much the same way as does the U.S. Constitution.

The second major topic of discussion was the recommendation that a community service requirement be an integral part of the middle-school civics curriculum. Although whether young adolescents are mature enough for such responsibilities was questioned, and some concern was voiced about the contradictory nature of "mandatory voluntarism," the principle of student community service was enthusiastically embraced. The conferees were generally quite taken with the potential of service to empower students and to heighten their feelings of efficacy. When discussions turned to practical considerations of program design and implementation, however, the group's initial enthusiasm was tempered.

A wide range of potential impediments to school-based community service programs arose during conference deliberations. Assuming that appropriate service opportunities exist in the local community, implementing a new scheduling system to accommodate school-day service presents vexing logistical problems. An alternative is to conduct service programs after school hours, but complications revolving around liability issues, transportation, employment, and family responsibilities are encountered. Especially in larger schools and districts, operating community service programs may require full-time staff management and may also place increased demands on teachers and counselors. An essential element of a successful program is regular "debriefing." Students need the opportunity to share, evaluate and reflect upon their experiences in order to get the maximum benefit from them. Not all volunteer experiences are necessarily positive or meet student expectations. Without counseling support, negative experiences may deflate rather than bolster student efficacy. A service program without such a component is incomplete, and may undermine the intent of the program.

Although the potential problems associated with creating and maintaining community service programs are many and varied, the sense of the conferees was that the benefits far outweigh the costs. The strong feeling was expressed that practical experience is absolutely essential to the development of the skills and attitudes requisite to effective citizenship. Community service in particular holds the promise of channeling adolescent development toward civic responsibility and away from what A. Bruce Campbell termed in his conference paper the "twin civic malignancies" of apathy and cynicism.

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Patterns of Social Fragmentation and Cohesion: The Social Context of 21st-Century Education for Citizenship

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Executive Summary

In order to describe social system content for civic education in the twenty-first century, it is necessary to address two questions. What is the structure of American society, and in what directions is the society moving? Like all sciences, sociology has developed theoretical frameworks to describe, analyze, and explain social data.

Underlying the more widely used theoretical frameworks or sociology are shared dimensions of analysis: the relationship between order and disorder at all levels; social continuity and change; the individual in relation to the group, institution, and society; the process of creation and maintenance of culture and the symbolic order; and the structure of social relationships. This paper uses the underlying, shared dimensions of theoretical analysis to develop the social context for civic education in the twenty-first century. The institutional elements of the social infrastructure, including economy, demography, education, and the family are examined. The implications of certain social processes, such as community, ethnicity, and social deviance (specifically drugs), are discussed as well as value systems, such as individualism, which pertain to citizenship and civic education in the twenty-first century.

Today and in the twenty-first century, citizens will need to be informed of the global as well as national, state, and local political environments that we share. Economic and demographic shifts—such as the continued natural increase of population in the developing countries, the continued flow of migration into the U.S., and the low rate of natural increase in this country— reinforce the need for global awareness. Economically, the U.S. is highly dependent on other nations and societies for the effective func-

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The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of Linda Cox in preparation of the references and bibliography and Susan B. Thompson for her clerical support.

tioning of its society. The prospect of nuclear conflict alone offers a powerful incentive to broaden the scope of civic education.

We live in a world that is shrinking due to faster, more available communication and transportation. Under these conditions, cultural differences become more, not less, apparent and engender a need for cultural pluralism. Pluralism implies an acceptance of difference, within or outside one's own society. Civic education should instill in the citizens of the twenty-first century not only an awareness of the diversity that exists on this planet but an acceptance of those variations.

The civics course also offers the opportunity to rebuild in our citizens a sense of community that many feel we have lost. Some scholars argue for changes in American education to incorporate community service as an integral part of the curriculum. A program of community service activity would offer the youth of our country an opportunity to experience an involvement and participation in their society that many feel is lacking today.

There are three implications of sociological knowledge for civic education that should be addressed. First, sociological concepts can serve as interpretative guideposts for both laypersons and professionals in making sense of the social world. Additionally, secondary teachers must be well trained in the meaning of sociological concepts if those elements are to be incorporated into civic education. Finally, there is the subtle but powerful function of the sociological perspective: making private troubles public issues. When the educational system examines what are essentially private problems—from divorce to drug abuse, from discrimination to loneliness—the individual student learns that these difficulties need not be faced alone. They become not just personal problems but community problems. If students learn nothing else, they learn that they are not alone.

In 1977, Howard D. Mehlinger, writing on the "Crisis in Civic Education" for the report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education, stated:

> The overarching purpose of civic education is to provide youth with the knowledge, values, and skills they require in order to function effectively as responsible adult citizens. A successful civic education program must be linked to the kinds of experiences students are likely to encounter upon leaving school. To the extent that civic education prepares students for conditions that no longer prevail or avoids informing students of the true state of affairs, it fails in its mission (p. 69).

The mission at hand, to describe social system content for civic education in the twenty-first century, reflects the type of problem discussed by Mehlinger. What is the structure of American society, and in what directions is the society moving? What are the implications of these changes for civic education in the twenty-first century?

A number of sociologists and others have attempted to assess the current directions of American society. From literary, philosophical, and social science backgrounds, current thinkers have addressed the state of American society and education (Bellah 1985; Bloom 1987; Etzioni 1983a; Hirsch 1988; Naisbitt 1982; Toeffler 1981). These diverse writers and scholars share a deep and thoughtful concern about the current state and directions of change in American society. Sociological concepts and findings form part of the background for analysis and prediction of themes that will frame the context for civic education in the twenty-first century.

Sociology: Theoretical Concepts and Dimensions

Sociologists use a wide variety of concepts in the analysis of social behavior. Culture, a concept shared with other social sciences, is typically seen as a blueprint for belief and action in a given society, composed of material objects and normative patterns that reflect value systems. Sociologists see institutions as those irreducible functions in society that must be performed for the maintenance of a modern social system. These institutions include the family, the polity, the educational system, religion, and economics. An institution comprises all the primary and secondary groups and organizations, along with cultural prescriptions, that are devoted to these specific functions. The group, however, is the main unit of analysis for sociologists examining primary associations in families and formalistic associations in secondary organizations. All of these institutions together, in a state of interaction and change, can be thought of as a social system or society.

Individuals perform roles within institutions. Within roles, people follow norms in conformity with values that provide direction and purpose. People, of course, occupy a range of social positions (statuses) within a wide variety of institutions. At different points in the course of daily life and over the lifespan, different institutions and the role expectations associated with them affect individuals. Who and what we are is to a very large extent explained by the statuses we occupy and the roles we play.

Within societies, communities can flourish or deteriorate into mass society. Tonnies (1983) and others have explored the transition from rural, tightly knit communities (*gemeinschaft*) to urban secondary relationships (*gesellschaft*). It is believed that industrial, urban regions have produced a high degree of alienation and detachment from society, which is reflected in the concerns of Americans who believe they are ignored by governments and the institutional representatives of society. The term "community" is used by sociologists to mean a set of interrelated institutions in a specific geographic boundary, a place as well as a sociopsychological concept (Park 1925). Other uses of the term imply a sense of connectedness, obligation, and reference for the individual actor. In this context, community means viable membership in primary groups and various voluntary and interest groups for actors in larger urban settings. In both senses, community implies the idea of civic responsibility and participation and is critical to our analysis. Community varies in the degree of interconnectedness among individuals in society as well as the sense of geographic centeredness that individuals experience. This has important implications for civic education in the twenty-first century.

Like all sciences, sociology has developed theoretical frameworks to describe, analyze, and explain social data. The most widely shared theoretical perspective, which permeates much of the discipline's research and analysis and underlies this paper, is structural functionalism. Functionalism examines what elements and processes must exist for society to survive (functional prerequisites); how different institutions function to meet requisites; how roles are structured and rewarded; and how social processes, such as socialization, contribute to or detract from the maintenance of the system. Conflict theory, symbolic interactionism, exchange theory, and ethnomethodology also are widely discussed and applied within theoretical frames of reference.

Underlying the varieties of sociological theory are shared dimensions of analysis: the relationship between order and disorder at all levels; social continuity and change; the individual in relation to the group, institution, and society; the process of creation and maintenance of culture and the symbolic order; and the structure of social relationships. While each theoretical approach offers a rich and unique analytic structure, this discussion will not explicate these perspectives or apply any one. Instead, the underlying, shared dimensions of analysis will be used to develop the social context for civic education in the twenty-first century. (For more specific applications of sociological theory to social studies and civics education, see Eshleman 1986.)

This paper will examine the institutional elements of the social infrastructure, including economy, demography, education, and the family. The implications of certain social processes, such as community, ethnicity, and social deviance—specifically drugs—will be examined, as well as value systems, such as individualism, which pertain to citizenship and civic education in the twenty-first century.

The Social Context of Civic Education

Demographic Considerations

Resources establish the framework within which social change and social structure occur. Population trends are important social resources that shape the contours, directions, and context of social change. Population dynamics, such as fertility, mortality, and migration, are fundamental processes affecting the composition of the population. Population size affects and is affected by the natural environment, a relationship that is international in scope. Civic education now and in the twenty-first century must be cognizant of population dynamics and composition and emphasize the interdependent and global quality of social life.

Population Dynamics. In order by size of population, the largest countries in the world are China, India, the Soviet Union, and the United States

(Haub and Kent 1988). Although this in itself may sound impressive, the U.S. represents only about five percent of the total world population. The United States is also one of the fastest growing developed nations of the world (Population Reference Bureau 1986a); however, the vast majority of the world population is found in the even more rapidly growing developing nations. An understanding of the relative position of this country during the twenty-first century requires that informed citizens have a grasp of the fundamentals of population dynamics (Reischauer 1973). The population growth of any country is dictated by three basic elements: fertility, mortality, and migration. The demographic history of the United States has been one of rapid growth; however, prevailing trends in fertility, mortality, and migration predict a relatively stable population throughout the next century.

Fertility. Despite the widely discussed upturn in the birth rate for approximately a decade after World War II, commonly called the "baby boom," most of the history of U.S. fertility has been one of decline. The long-term drop in U.S. birth rate is tied largely to cultural and economic changes that have taken place in this country over the past two hundred years. The movement away from an agricultural economy and rural living, and toward industrial and service occupations in an urban environment, coupled with changing norms about the ideal size of a family, has operated to produce a steady decline in U.S. fertility.

Mortality. During the same period of time, U.S. mortality has also declined. Improvements in public health and sanitation procedures, improvements in diet, and, more recently, developments in medicine have combined to lower the death rate. Unlike fertility, the decline in mortality is not closely tied to changes in norms about death. In general, the culture of the United States, like that of most human societies, has supported a reduction in the death rate. Most of the apparent causes for declining mortality, therefore, are technological rather than cultural.

Natural Increase. Historically, most of the growth of the U.S. population has been a consequence of natural increase, an excess of births over deaths. Although many students find it puzzling that the population could have grown so rapidly in the face of both a declining death rate and a declining birth rate, the explanation lies in the earlier and more rapid decline in the death rate.

Migration. Even though migration has contributed less to the growth of the U.S. population than natural increase, it has been a factor (Bureau of the Census 1975). At least since the first U.S. census in 1790, immigration (incoming migration) has exceeded emigration (outgoing migration). U.S. immigration policy has varied over time. During the first century after the American Revolution, federal law gave only passing notice to immigration (Population Reference Bureau 1986a). It was only after the peak period of immigration at the beginning of this century, when the source of immigrants had shifted from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern Europe, that significant legal limitations were established (Bouvier and Gardner 1986).

The Immigration Act of 1929 established a quota system based on the ethnic composition of the U.S. as of 1890. These quotas permitted only about 154,000 immigrants per year, compared to the 600,000 to 800,000 per year who had been arriving around the turn of the century. Given the ethnic composition of the United States as of 1890, the new quota system severely limited immigration from countries outside northern and western Europe (Archdeacon 1983).

In recent years restrictions on immigration have eased somewhat and moved away from quotas based on national origin. As a consequence, the source of immigrants to the United States has shifted so that the majority come not from Europe but from Asia and Latin America.

Today, legal immigration into the United States averages about 600,000 persons per year (Bouvier and Gardner 1986), or about one-fourth of the current population growth. Estimates of illegal immigration vary from 200,000 to 500,000 annually (Population Reference Bureau 1986a). If these figures are included, about one-third of our population growth can be attributed to net migration. The change from growth through natural increase toward growth through migration is not so much a consequence of increased immigration as it is a reduction of the difference between the birth rate and the death rate.

Population Composition. *Age Distribution.* With the relatively low birth and death rates prevalent today, the average age of the U.S. population has steadily increased so that today more than half the citizens of the United States are over age thirty. By far the most dramatic change in the age composition of the population is the rapid growth in the percentage of people over sixty-five. This increase in the number of elderly persons has placed a strain on health care facilities and the Social Security system. Of particular importance is the ratio of wage earners supporting the Social Security system to retirees who draw from existing reserves. The oldest products of the "baby boom" are in their mid-forties. Early in the twenty-first century they will begin to retire, placing an increased strain on the Social Security system.

Labor Force. The most significant change in the U.S. labor force can be found in the increased participation of women (Population Reference Bureau 1986a). Although women first began to enter the labor force as early as the beginning of this century, the pattern has changed over time. At first a woman might get a job, but work only until she married. As it became more socially acceptable for married women to work outside the home, a woman might continue to work until the birth of her first child. Eventually it became more common for a woman to return to the labor force after the youngest child left home. Later, employment was interrupted only between the birth of the first child and the entry of the youngest child into the school system. Today a woman goes to work and continues to work, through marriage, motherhood, and on into retirement.

Not only have women become a major component of the work force, but they have become increasingly present in traditionally male-dominated occupations. Employment opportunities are by no means equal, however. Traditional sex roles still predominate in many areas, and income inequities between males and females have become a major social issue.

Several other patterns are related to the participation of women in the labor force, including the postponement of marriage, the reduction in the size of families, and the postponement of childbearing. Gainfully employed career-oriented women may find the traditional roles of wife and mother less attractive than did their predecessors. The decision to have a child is a major economic as well as personal decision today. Working parents of both sexes have discovered that daycare facilities have not grown to accommodate the increased need.

It could also be argued that another significant social phenomenon, divorce, is related to the increased participation of women in the labor force. Although the divorce rate has fluctuated somewhat, it has increased dramatically over the past twenty years. Not only is the divorce rate for this period of time higher than ever before, but it is also perhaps the highest in the world.

The pattern of domestic change accompanying the increased participation of women in the labor force may be a major contributing factor to the increased divorce rate. Many American males today assume that working women are just another part of our contemporary society. Many American males also assume, however, that women who work outside the home will continue to perform domestic chores in the home. Women in the labor force have discovered that there is only so much time and energy to distribute among the roles of wife, mother, and employee. Women with employment responsibilities equal to those of their husbands may rightly expect their husbands to assume domestic responsibilities equal to their own. Such contradictory expectations can only contribute to friction between husband and wife. An additional component in the equation can be found in the increased economic independence that wives have from their husbands.

Population Shift and Environmental Impact. While agriculture has long since ceased to be the major economic activity of the U.S. labor force, agriculture does remain a major U.S. industry. Since the 1940s, the United States has been a major producer and exporter of grain (Population Reference Bureau 1986a). In recent years, however, the international competition has increased, while domestic surpluses have caused prices to drop. The difficulty of competing in what has become a large-scale international business, driven by forces beyond the control of the individual, has driven the "family farmer" from the farm.

With only minor fluctuations, the United States has a long history of transition from rural to urban living. Today more than three-fourths of the

U.S. population lives in urban areas (Haub and Kent 1988). During the twentieth century the ecological system of the United States has suffered from changing demographic and economic conditions. The transition from agriculture to industrial activities contributed to air and water pollution. Fossil fuel combustion has increased not only from industrialization, but also from the increase in the population size, which in turn means more fuel consumers (Repetto 1987). Efforts to curb fossil fuel consumption have met with some success; however, such efforts often produce new problems (Repetto and Holmes 1983). Nuclear energy offers an alternative to traditional energy sources; however, it also offers new and different threats to the environment in the form of possible nuclear contamination and the problems of nuclear waste disposal.

International Perspective. From the somewhat diverse perspectives of such people as Norman Cousins, Robert S. McNamara, and Jimmy Carter (Kidder 1987) emerges a common theme. We must see the world as a whole. The growth in the U.S. population during the twentieth century did not occur in a vacuum, and the conditions that prevail in the twenty-first century will be equally related to the rest of the world.

World Population Growth. The changing demographic conditions in the United States that have spanned the past two hundred years are actually only an extension of the unprecedented changes that began in other parts of the world around the year 1650. For all recorded history prior to that time, and presumably for all of prehistoric time, the pattern of population change was one of steady but very slow growth. During that time, both birth and death rates were high but close together. First in western Europe about 1650, and later in selected parts of the world, things begin to change in a pattern commonly called demographic transition. The first evidence of this change is always a decline in the death rate, followed by a somewhat slower decline in the birth rate. As both rates fall they separate, creating a greater rate of natural increase and a rapidly growing population. Demographic transition in western European and similar nations, such as the United States, culminates as the birth and death rates stabilize at low levels. Those countries that have completed demographic transition are commonly called "developed" nations. The rest of the world or "developing" nations—primarily in Asia, Africa, and South America—follow a different pattern. On the whole, developed nations required approximately three hundred years to complete demographic transition. During that time they gradually developed the technological changes necessary to lower the death rate and at the same time experienced changes in their norms about family size that were supportive of a reduction in the birth rate. For the developing nations, 1650 is not a significant date; in fact the changes appear at different times in different parts of the world. Initially the pattern appears to be the same. The first thing to change is the death rate; however, when the death rate starts down it drops sharply. Changes that in the past required three hundred years in the more traditional developed nations may occur in as little as twenty or thirty years. This is possible because the factors that drive the death rate down are largely technological in nature, such as public health and sanitation measures, medical technology, and agricultural techniques. Such technology is easily exported from developed to developing nations.

The birth rate, on the other hand, is not as easily influenced by technology. While birth rates have declined in developing nations, the change has generally followed the more gradual pattern that required three hundred years of normative change in the developed nations. Culture, in the form of norms about family size, is not as easily exported as technology. Birth control techniques do represent a form of technology, of course. Despite the rather high visibility, and sometimes controversial nature of birth control techniques, however, the birth rate is not easily manipulated through technology. It is one thing to go into a country and tell people, "If you do these things, your babies will not die." The norms of most societies are compatible with keeping babies alive. It is quite another thing, however, to go into a country and say, "Do these things and you won't have babies."

These conditions have produced widely separated birth and death rates, with corresponding high rates of natural increase. Most of the growth in the world population in the latter half of the twentieth century has occurred not in developed nations like the United States, but in developing nations. For example, the country of Nicaragua has a birth rate greater than two and one-half times that of the U.S. birth rate, but the Nicaraguan death rate is lower than that in the United States (Haub and Kent 1988).

The Demographic Future. The United States will continue to grow, but at a slower and slower rate. Immigration will continue to be more of a factor in this growth, while natural increase will have less and less impact. External pressures for migration to the United States will increase, particularly for immigrants from South and Central America. We have a long history of changing ethnic composition through immigration, and the pattern is likely to continue (Bouvier and Gardner 1986). Predictions about the ethnic composition of the United States for the twenty-first century vary with the source; however, there is a common theme: "If current trends continue, in 100 years non-Hispanic whites of European origin may no longer constitute a majority of the American population" (Population Reference Bureau 1986b). The trends in question are patterns of fertility, mortality, and migration. Most predictions assume that the difference between fertility and mortality will remain small, meaning little population change from natural increase and an increasing impact from immigration. It is also widely assumed that the greatest gains in population by any ethnic group will be found among Hispanics (Bouvier and Gardner 1986).

It is apparent that, even in developing nations, the rate of population growth is also slowing. The tide of ever increasing growth rates for the world as a whole is finally turning, perhaps for the first time since human beings first appeared on the planet (Repetto 1987). This may not be cause for optimism, however. While the rate of growth is diminishing, the population size is not. The raw numbers are so massive that even a relatively low rate of growth adds large numbers of people to the world's population every year.

Currently, there are more than 5 billion people in the world (Haub and Kent 1988). Even the most conservative estimates predict twice that number well before the middle of the twenty-first century. Most of this growth will, of course, occur outside the United States, but the future citizens of our country will not be immune to its effects. The demand upon the ecological system of the world will be considerable. While most predictions assume that agricultural technology will be able to respond adequately to most of the increased demand, it is conceivable that shortages and some famine will occur (Hendry 1988).

The role of the United States in the international economy will change. The demand on natural resources will increase proportionally to the population increase, with particular emphasis on energy resources. Before the world population has doubled, oil reserves will once again be in demand, signaling a resurgence of OPEC power (Repetto 1987).

The greatest impact on U.S. citizens in the twenty-first century will probably not be ecological or economic, but emotional. The United States will almost certainly not experience widespread food shortages to the point of famine; however, if such conditions do occur on a wholesale basis in developing nations, we will become very aware of the relative condition of misery in other parts of the world. If nothing else, the national television networks will keep us abreast of developments. The future citizens of this country may well have to deal with the regular and recurrent experience of watching babies dying on the evening news.

Social Institutions, Ethnicity, and Class

While demographic dynamics and composition form the population context for social institutions and social processes, the structure and functioning of such fundamental institutions as economy, education, and family are critical to the limits and opportunities that will exist in the twenty-first century. Although ethnicity and class are not, strictly speaking, institutions in the sense of economy and family, they are clearly enduring social forms and processes that are woven into the functional fabric of society today and in the twenty-first century. What are the institutional trends and stratification processes occurring today that are likely to frame the context of civic education in the twenty-first century?

Economy. During the last half of the twentieth century, the United States, like other industrialized nations, has seen a shift away from manufacturing and similar traditional industrial pursuits toward more service-oriented and technical occupations (Bureau of the Census 1985; Naisbitt 1982). This change has caused trauma to both individuals and whole regions of the country as we have sought to adapt to these changing times.

Other contributors to this conference have more developed outlines of the economic future of the United States in the next fifty to one hundred years. There are certain themes, however, well established in the literature, that portend the directions of economic activity in the twenty-first century. First, the United States, widely recognized as a post-industrial society, is finding that its industrial processes are being transferred to the Pacific Rim and other developing areas of the world (Bauer 1981; Madsen 1980). Second, the U.S. has been a cradle of technological innovation throughout the twentieth century, but other countries, particularly Japan (Chira 1988; Greenwald 1988; Gusfield 1972), are taking the technological initiative. As Naisbitt (1982) and others have pointed out (Diebold 1985; Singlemann 1978; Toffler 1984), American economic productivity rests more on the flow of information and services than on the formation of industrial goods. Work in the U.S. will be less in terms of agriculture, industry, and craft labor, and more in terms of managerial, clerical, idea, and product development, as well as lower-level service employment (Carey 1981). Consequently, the economy in the United States, both in the late twentieth century and probably in the twenty-first century, will require both less and more education. A key knowledge element for all citizens in the twenty-first century will be a minimal shared understanding of the processes, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship and governance.

Whether the United States is successful in reindustrialization, as Etzioni (1983a) proposes, remains uncertain. While some industries in the latter part of the 1980s experienced rebirth and rejuvenation, others, such as textiles and electronics (Bureau of the Census 1985), continue in decline. While industrial growth and development has been seen by historians and sociologists as an ambivalent blessing, bringing on the one hand a decline in community and on the other economic prosperity, the economic future for the country is clearly much more international than ever in the past. As the world moves toward becoming not only an electronic global village (McLuhan 1967; Reischauer 1973) but an industrial and marketing village, the web of interdependence expands. This is another element that civic education of the twenty-first century must address.

Family. As the twentieth century moves to a close, the process of change in the family has taken on the scope of a revolution and accompanying counterrevolution. Within the past twenty years, American society has seen an enormous shift away from what has been thought of as the traditional family. By some estimates, as many as half of all marriages that occurred in the earlier half of this decade will end in divorce (National Center for Health Statistics 1987). Although there has been some decline in the marriage rate in recent years, Americans still enjoy the institution, marrying at just below record levels (Bureau of the Census 1985). It is a cliche by now that those who are divorced are among those who are most likely to marry.

Even though we enjoy marriage, the single lifestyle has reached new heights of popularity and respectability (Thornton and Freedman 1982). Perhaps the somewhat temporary nature of the family and the rise in singlehood is correlated with the declining birth and fertility rate (Bureau of the Census 1985). Clearly then, the bonds for the family as the most critical social institution are in the process of change, if not actual lessening. As these ties of affiliation are weakened, cultural and structural webs that bind society together as a functioning unit are weakened.

Civic education in the schools of the twenty-first century may be of greater significance than at any other time in American history, as larger and larger proportions of children, by some estimates as much as 40 percent (Bureau of the Census 1985), grow up in homes that do not contain both natural parents. The extended kinship ties that bind more traditional societies together, while holding in some urban villages, have been less vital in the latter part of the twentieth century (Laslett 1977; Gordon 1983) and are likely to become weaker as American society continues to move into the post-industrial age. More and more children will not experience the family as a cohesive microcosm of the larger society. Instead, the disorder and anomie of the family may be projected onto the larger society as in the past when the larger society was thought to be coherent and orderly because of the discipline and structure of the family.

Not only is the nation experiencing one of the world's highest rates of divorce and separation, whether or not children are involved, unmarried single mothers are becoming one of the fastest growing family forms, particularly among America's minority groups. For example, among blacks, children born to unmarried mothers now outnumber those born to married women. While the proportions are not as high for Hispanics and whites, they too have been increasing rapidly since the sixties (Bureau of the Census 1985).

Most observers and researchers (Bane 1976; Berger and Berger 1983) of the family do not believe that the institution is in danger of dissolution, but they do believe that it is undergoing significant change. Explicating the dynamics that effect family change, whether economic, political, cultural, or gender-based, is not critical at this point. An understanding of the likely patterns of family adaptation and the effects that the family will have on individuals and society loom large for the future.

While it is a sociological truism that the family is the most critical agency of socialization, as the family loses some of its socialization function, other institutions, such as the schools, must assume that responsibility. Many writers, including Lasch (1977), have decried the loss of the role and scope for the family. Lasch believes that the family has been progressively stripped of its functions, as other institutions have increased theirs due to industrialization, urbanization, and the loss of community in American society. Indeed, efforts by political conservatives in the 1980s have had as one of their primary goals the resurrection of authority and responsibility within the family (Cuber et al. 1975). In search of community and different forms of family strength, evangelical churches have experienced growth and increased visibility as well as expanded roles in the larger society (Fitzgerald 1986). From liberals (see NASW 1988 Social Agenda) to conservatives (Cuber et al. 1975), reconstruction or strengthening of the family is a priority goal. Many of the forces, however, that are associated with the family's decline, such as increased communication, social and spatial mobility, suburbanization, changing definitions of gender roles, and the economic necessity of both spouses needing employment, are unlikely to diminish in force in the twenty-first century. Whether the family declines in effectiveness because many of its functions are being stripped from it or because it is no longer able to support the breadth of functions that it once had, other institutions must provide or supplement essential activities like socialization.

Education. Like the family, educational institutions socialize youth and immigrants to American culture and society. Increasingly, because of the pace of change in a post-industrial, knowledge-based society, education is truly a life-long activity requiring citizens to return to the well again and again for additional socialization. Given that education must assume additional responsibility for primary socialization and increasingly provide access to specialized knowledge, skills, and values, education becomes the principle institution for the maintenance of a key prerequisite of society: a common, shared culture. In a nation with the diversity of cultural backgrounds growing from ethnicity, immigration, regional differentiation, occupations, and classes, the significance that education has assumed will likely continue into the twenty-first century. In short, education has assumed more of the responsibility for transference of our cultural core.

What should be the cultural core in civic education in the twenty-first century? This is, of course, the key question that this conference is addressing and has been a focus of thought in recent years. Etzioni (1983a, 1983b, 1983c) centers his recommendations for education now and in the future on three key concepts fundamental to the role of the citizen in society: self-discipline, mutuality, and civility. In order for there to be learning and orderly public sphere interaction, self-discipline and its supportive elements are essential. Schools and society should not be concerned primarily with discipline but with self-discipline, self-motivation, and self-organization. As children enter schools with less of these characteristics than previous generations, schools must not eliminate structure; instead, structure must be organized in such a way that it engenders self-discipline. Successful schools, says Etzioni, are institutions—whether or not they are public or private, traditional or innovative, religious or secular—that have clear goals, high expectations, and rules.

Comparing Etzioni's requirements to Boyer's (1983) Ridgefield High, where the margin of excellence was missing, it is possible to see that cultivation of self-discipline would help to accomplish Boyer's goals. These include the development of critical thinking skills and effective communication through the mastery of language, exposure of students to their heritage and social world, preparation of students for work and education, and recognition and fulfillment of civic responsibilities through school and community service. Other skills that need improvement as the nation approaches the twenty-first century, according to these writers, are critical thinking, increased reflectivity, and public discourse skills. Clearly, these are skills essential for effective performance of rights and responsibilities of citizenship in the next century.

The Need for a Cultural Core. One of the skills needed for effective citizenship is awareness that contributes to the maintenance of cultural cohesiveness in American society. More socially and culturally differentiated than any other society in the world, the U.S. population is made up of ethnic groups, immigrants from every area of the world, different races, different regions within the country, and a variety of objectively and subjectively defined classes. While there is no language monopoly and while historical tradition varies according to the perspective that one brings to its examination, a cultural core is needed for society. With the changes in the function of the family and the continued growth of religious divergence, only education as an institution in American society has the opportunity and responsibility to transmit this cultural core as one of the prerequisites for society.

While E. D. Hirsch (1987, 1988) has addressed this issue with more flamboyance and notoriety than comes to most discussions of the curriculum, his presentation has the appearance of the "American Culture List of Lists." Of course, Hirsch is sensitive to this criticism and spends the majority of his readers' time arguing that cultural literacy, or the shared knowledge of cultural elements central to effective functioning of members of society, must be taught in educational institutions. We cannot depend merely on teaching students how to learn but expect them to learn content as well. In fact, Hirsch argues, we cannot learn without content. It is a functional requisite of any society that there not only be shared knowledge of values and norms, and shared, mutual understandings of roles, but there must also be a shared knowledge base for decision making and action. In other words, shared sets of cultural content and knowledge, as well as shared values, norms, and reciprocal roles, are needed. Certainly the findings by Finn and Ravitch (1984) commissioned by the National Endowment for the Humanities—that two-thirds of seventeen-year-olds cannot place the Civil War in the last half of the nineteenth century, and that 75 percent do not know what Reconstruction means, and that less than half know the meaning of the Brown vs. Board of Education decision (Hirsch 1987)—are of deep concern and suggest that American youth are not being adequately educated to carry out the responsibilities of citizenship.

Sociology and the Cultural Core. Recently, it was reported (Sanoff 1987) that large numbers of Americans cannot locate the Chesapeake Bay and some of the New England states, to say nothing of countries in East Africa or Asia. While this ignorance undermines global awareness as well as responsibility and action in the world, there is another level of ignorance that threatens this society and others. Research by two of the authors (Short and Matlock 1983) has found a high level of ignorance of basic sociological concepts and findings in a national test survey of college students in introduction to sociology classes. Students who had not taken sociology in high school had an average score of 53 percent, while students who had high school sociology modestly improved their scores to 56 percent. The results show an appalling lack of knowledge of society and the conceptual tools for understanding it.

Although Hirsch (1987) has constructed a knowledge core for cultural literacy, it is lacking key social science concepts, many of which have been assimilated into popular culture. While the terms "sociology," "status," "alienation," "racism," and "sexism" are included in Hirsch's list, other fundamental and widely shared concepts like "ethnicity," "minority," "culture," "role," "norm," and "anomie" are missing. Just as importantly, concepts, like "global citizen," "community," "cultural pluralism," and "tolerance," which are critical to an international perspective upon which effective citizenship in the twenty-first century is based, are not in Hirsch's list.

What price do we pay for such ignorance? Referring to the damage to the social world around us, Bellah and his colleagues write:

> And social ecology is damaged not only by war, genocide, and political repression. It is also damaged by the subtle ties that bind human beings to one another, leaving them frightened and alone. It has been evident for some time that unless we begin to repair the damage to our social ecology, we will destroy ourselves long before natural ecological disaster has time to be realized (1985, 284).

It is not just that the social world is damaged; it is that we are unaware of the links that form our social ecology, unaware of the substance of the social world, unaware of the tools of analysis that will help us to understand the social world and, therefore, unaware of the damage to the social world.

There are signs of the damage in the world around us: the homeless in every major city in the nation; the incredible rates of increase in drug abuse, among children in particular; the lack of a social consensus for how we should care for our ch[illegible] the loneliness that the aged and isolated feel; the loss of jobs and industry to other countries. The list can go on. Knowledge of and familiarity with social science concepts that help us to understand the social nature of many of what appear to be private problems may be essential before the social world can be reconstructed.

From a sociological perspective, an absolute prerequisite for society to exist is a common, shared culture. The diversity of American society at present and the demographic projections for the next century make this requirement critical. As discussed above, the fertility rate for white females has declined to the level of just over one child per female of childbearing age, while the fertility rate for non-whites, especially Hispanics, continues to rise (Bureau of the Census 1985). For example, it is expected in Texas that by the year 2000, blacks and Hispanics together will constitute a clear majority of the population (Davis et al. 1983; Lacayo 1988). Presently in Texas, it is estimated that Hispanics have a 45 percent dropout rate (Texas Department of Community Affairs 1986). Unless steps are taken to reintegrate America's minorities into education, a growing segment of the national population will be unprepared and unlikely to participate in the nation's affairs. Without a shared culture, society itself may be threatened.

Ethnicity and Class. As Hannah Gray has pointed out in *Agenda for the Twenty-First Century* (Kidder 1987), a key question for the next century is whether or not the U.S. is a "melting pot or a salad bowl?" She believes, supported by most demographers, that there will be a massive change in the racial and ethnic mix of the nation. The U.S. will become increasingly a nation of people with Latin, Asian, and African ancestry and less a nation of European, particularly British, ancestry. Problems of ethnic diversity, assimilation, and accommodation are long-standing and even preceded the founding of this nation. Some of the modes of addressing this problem have been discarded, e.g., slavery and segregation, but have left a strong legacy. The distribution of poverty, to some extent, reflects the historical pattern of ethnic relations in the U.S. Blacks, for example, still find themselves at a fraction of the income of whites, while blacks and Hispanics disproportionately make up what has come to be known as the "underclass" (Auletta 1983). Asians, on the other hand, almost irrespective of country of origin, have been making remarkable strides toward educational and economic success. Their only impediments have been the occasional efforts by other ethnic groups to limit their access to residence, citizenship, property, and education (Chira 1988; New York Times 29 November 1988).

Ethnic minorities in the U.S. represent unique challenges for citizenship education. First, by definition, minorities are groups who have experienced a systematic pattern of discrimination over generations, which places them in an inferior economic, political, and educational position in relation to other groups (Wirth 1945). They have experienced prejudice and must confront, unlike other groups, a negative definition of self both within and outside the community. Minority groups have developed a culture that internally provides support and protection for individuals, while externally protecting the group from additional loss. Second, while minority groups have evolved cultures that protect themselves from the most destructive effects of discrimination, they are cultures that are dependent on discrimination. Civic education in the twenty-first century may well have to include a significant component of what Auletta (1983) describes as life skills to break the internalized perceptions of inferiority and to prepare minority groups to assume positions of national and international leadership.

Poverty is not limited to ethnic minorities. The feminization of poverty (Cahan 1985), resulting from the collapse of the family in all ethnic groups, means that children from single-parent female families will be in an ideal position to join the underclass. Life skills education, which focuses on the mores of responsibility, discipline, and honesty—what Bellah and his coauthors (1985) call "habits of the heart"—may become an increasingly important prerequisite to civic education. This may be too much of a task for civic education. We must be careful to avoid the pitfall most common to American democratic cultural reform: ask the schools to fix it. The levels of social change required for minority assimilation, the alleviation of poverty and an assault on the underclass, exceed what can be effectively accomplished in civic education. Nonetheless these contextual realities are relevant, since the level of social change necessary to attack the social and economic foundations of poverty and discrimination will profoundly affect the range of what can be accomplished in educating the youth of the twenty-first century. This is not the place to outline a fully articulated pattern of social reform to eliminate poverty and discrimination. In any event, it is prudent to predict that the poor and the victims of discrimination will be with us and that the schools will be asked to do the impossible: to teach prerequisite life skills, social conscience, and the nature and processes of government.

Social Trends: Values, Self, and Community

Values and Community. Within the past decade, two works on the quality of American life in particular have drawn the interest of academic and popular attention: Christopher Lasch's *Haven in a Heartless World* and Robert Bellah and colleagues' *Habits of the Heart*. Lasch's book focuses on the family, its simultaneous loss of function and authority, and its increasing responsibility for emotional gratification and sustenance of the individual in the larger society. The effects of industrialization and urbanization on the family have compounded the loss of familial authority and facilitated the assumption of responsibility by other institutions. Lasch believes that the erosion of authority in the family and the increasing dependence on the family for emotional gratification have contributed to the loss of community and the increase in narcissism in society.

Through a series of unstructured interviews, Bellah and his colleagues produce a rich picture of American culture and society in transition. Central to the presentation is social realism, the view that individuals in their fullest sense are embedded in a social community. Contrasted with social realism is individualism, a value complex so much a part of American culture and society. Individualism includes the belief in the sacredness of the individual as well as expressive and utilitarian individualism. Expressive individualism is the belief that self-fulfillment should be accomplished by expressing the inner feelings that each person has, while utilitarian individualism is the focus on individual self-interest manifested most often in occupational success. They trace the collapse of community as a function of individualism and a loss of commitment to something beyond the expressive or utilitarian self.

While traditions of self-fulfillment within communities exist, such as in the biblical and democratic traditions, these have lost their hold for many Americans. Instead they pursue occupational success which maximizes self, or a therapeutic ethic, which, when driven to its logical extreme, leaves the self exclusively responsible for its own pain and pleasure and for no one else. Instead of a culture of separation inherent in extreme individualism, Bellah and his colleagues want a culture of coherence based in social ecology, where individuals through voluntary associations join with others to create a community of interest for the public good, such as social movements like the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

On a different level, the re-emergence of the calling would permit us to see work as a means to serve the common good, not just the success or failure of the individual. As work becomes defined and rewarded in terms of the public good, rather than private gain, the invisible complexity of the privatized social world becomes visible. In other words, the social web will be obvious to its members, since they will be working together for the whole rather than competing against one another for private benefit. In such a culture of coherence, education would neither be for careerism or pragmatic gains, but rather for personal meaning and civic culture.

If *Habits of the Heart* misses any of the rich complexity of American society and culture, it may be in its assumption of a shared socioeconomic position. In the voices of the interviews, one doesn't hear the Mexican-American in Texas or the Native American in South Dakota. The youth who constitute the recruits for the underclass are not there, nor are the ethnic subcultures that struggle for survival.

One strength of *Habits of the Heart* is that the authors make clear what their own value posture is; they reject the pursuit of an objective social science, embracing instead one that carries and reflects their values. In this sense, *Habits of the Heart* is normative and prescriptive. It offers a vision for the nation and a prescription to mend the anomie and alienation that permeate the social atmosphere. It challenges us to take a stand in Camus' city of the plague and join with others to accomplish the public good.

Etzioni (1983a) also attacks the ethos of individualism that is at the root of our cultural values. He argues for a renewed awareness of our mutuality, an awareness of the essential nature of our dependence on another, the utter sterility of the life of a social isolate. Through a recommitment to mutuality and civility, the society has an opportunity to reorient itself. He specifically prescribes that the schools need to emphasize responsibility to the family. There needs to be heightened awareness of the character development function of schools. Work opportunities need to be provided for youth sixteen to eighteen years of age and the state should require a year of national service of all youth. While the call for mandatory national service mirrors earlier national debates about the draft and universal service, it suggests two critically important pedagogical points: learn by doing and responsibility through involvement. We believe these elements are critical to civic education in the twenty-first century.

Fluid Roles, Fluid Selves. Much concern has been expressed in recent works that youth in the twenty-first century will experience a high degree of anomie and detachment. This normlessness will be and is produced by a lack of identity in an age of service economics and new technologies. The society may become so complex and specialized that a sense of contact with the social world is lost. Civic education in the twenty-first century must convince the student early that he or she is part of an interconnected system and that he or she must respond as a responsible citizen in that system. Irene Taviss Thomson has stated:

> Other-directed man responds to the demands of a changing society by becoming flexible and sensitive to others. Faced with new situations, he played new roles, even while his sense of self remained uncertain and not fully changed. The narcissist, having greater facility in role playing and more awareness of self, seeks to have his self match his role, and is willing to alter either or both as necessary. Thus, his identity becomes fluid and his roles lose their clear definition (1985, 227-278).

Individuals are experiencing a new sense of fluid role identity, in which people can actually change identities throughout their lifetime. Roles move back and forth between the poles of "other" directedness (looking to others and other groups for your cues and approval) and "me" directedness (a type of self-centered orientation or perhaps even narcissism), with the individual not necessarily fixing roles at one pole or another. The sense of obligations found in previous generations is gone; commitments are a matter of individual choice.

It may be difficult to inculcate social control norms in this type of situation, when normative socialization is really a part of the self-concept viewed from the perspective of the general literature concerning socialization. Thomson argues that this new self-concept may be adaptive in some ways to rapidly changing social conditions. Adaptive as this new changing sense of identity may be, however, it would seem to have the potential for heightening the loss of community, neighborhoods, and social networks.

There are clear problem implications in the area of civic responsibility. An individual feeling detached from community participation simply changes his or her role identity to adjust to this situation rather than seeking new attachments or feelings of community involvement. If the fluid role alternative is used in the future, the same degree of concern over the loss of associational networks that motivates today's involved adults will not occur. In the future, people may not care about participation or associational networks but adjust to living their lives in a spirit of structural alienation.

Today's college students are already reflecting attitudes of adjustment that support the fluid identity concept. One of the authors, in assigning projects for a "writing intensive" introductory sociology course, has been impressed by the number of students in a junior-level college course who seem to feel that they have no group memberships. In most cases, these students actually belong to groups, but they do not understand the concept and meaning of group identity and membership. Obviously, one of the functions of a survey course in sociology is to acquaint students with the more technical aspects of groups and their functioning. What is amazing is that students seem to have no "common sense" or "street concept" concerning the nature of social groups. The concept of social group must be explained before students recognize that they do in fact belong to several rather loose knit social groups, such as the family, work group, and church. The idea of social interconnectedness seems foreign to some students who are already experiencing "anomie" and "fluid identity." Students need to be apprised of the importance of their involvement in the social institutions both for themselves and for society.

Drugs

Given that individualism and the pursuit of self-interest are cultural trends that are undermining the effective functioning of institutions in American society, drug and alcohol abuse and associated behaviors may represent the clearest expressions of destructive, self-interested behavior. By contrast, the current resurgence of drug condemnation by American communities may constitute one expression of public concern for the good. Drug abuse, on the one hand, is described by social scientists as a unique form of social deviance; one in which the users are linked together by unique physical and emotional experiences induced by drugs and by the shared reality of doing something illegal (Becker 1963; Hughes 1961). Drug abusers are members of their own secret society or "fantastic lodge" (Hughes 1961). On the other hand, drug abuse is the logical extension of the pursuit of self-interest, since the individual uses a drug for his own gratification. In extremely addictive cases, the individual becomes so obsessed with the drug that he sacrifices family, job, ambition, and anything else for the drug.

Drugs represent the embodiment of self-interest as a threat to the public good. Initiation of drug use is beginning at earlier and earlier ages (White House Conference 1988). In many areas of the country, by fourth grade a majority of children have experimented with alcohol, and in some communities, 7 percent of fourth graders regularly use inhalants. The proportions of users and the drugs of use may vary by community, but the reality is that a plague has infected American children. Most observers of the drug issue will agree that school children as a whole are at risk, although minority children (Watts and Wright 1988), children of single parent homes, and children in poverty are particularly at serious risk. It is uniformly recognized that drug use affects the child's ability to concentrate and is associated with the child's withdrawal from academic and other activities at school. Drug abuse, like poverty and racism, is part of the social context within which the content of civic education functions.

Implications for Civic Education in the Twenty-first Century

Demographic Content

Including demographic content in a civics course presents some unique problems. The most important issue concerns what not to do. Do not attempt to teach numbers. Do not, on the other hand, ignore numbers. It is impossible to do justice to demographic content without numbers, but do not make the numbers the focus of that component of the course. Make clear to the students from the first that they are not expected to memorize numbers. Perhaps they should remember one or two numbers, but not memorize them. Reasonably educated citizens of the United States should know approximately how many people there are in this country, and they should probably know approximately how many people there are in the world. They are, by definition, part of both populations.

Do not, however, insist on precise numbers. At present (October, 1988) it would be sufficient to know that the world population is slightly in excess of 5 billion people, and that the U.S. population is below 245 million (less than a quarter of a billion). There is no value in committing exact population figures to memory. If we know nothing else, and if the students learn nothing else, it should at least be that the numbers change.

To be sure, other qualitative information should be presented, but this should be clearly identified as an illustration. The value of the numbers is to demonstrate trends and patterns, and that is how they should be used. If students can grasp the significance of demographic transition and understand how the dynamics of declining mortality and fertility yield a dramatic increase in population, it does not matter if they do not know the current death rate and birth rate.

A second issue is also related to numbers. While students need not be concerned with knowing the current birth and death rates, what about teachers? Demographic information is fluid, not static. How does one keep up? For most information, keeping up is not much of a problem. The demographic characteristics of any large population change slowly. There is a great deal of inertia. Teachers who are particularly interested in maintaining accurate data for their class preparation can easily acquire current information at nominal cost from such sources as the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, D.C.

One final issue should be addressed. A grasp of the dynamics of demographics can aid the civics student in understanding the forces that have shaped our nation and that will shape our future. Perhaps the greatest value, however, lies in communicating to the students and future citizens of our country that the United States does not exist in a vacuum. The future of our nation is inseparably tied to the conditions that exist and will exist in other countries around the world.

Scope of Civic Education

In many states, like Texas, civic education examines government structure and processes at the state and federal levels. Some attention is given to the structure and functioning of local government, including both county and city. Civic education of this scope for the majority of the twentieth century is not inappropriate but may be shortsighted in light of the global environment in which we live today. Today and in the twenty-first century, citizens will need to be informed of the global as well as national, state, and local political environments that we share.

Economic and demographic shifts, such as the continued natural increase of population in the developing countries, the continued flow of migration into the U.S., and the low rate of natural increase in some population segments in this country, reinforce the need for global awareness. The survival needs of other countries, which today are severely strapped for sufficient necessities, will increase. As a nation and a society, we are confronted with the need for action. Economically, we are already highly dependent on other nations and societies for the effective and profitable functioning of our society. Much of the industry that used to prosper in this country has already relocated to either Asia or Latin America; others have lost their ability to compete due to management, primitive technology, or labor costs. While Japan may be one of the U.S.'s most valuable trading partners, our children know little of that society's culture, language, or political structure. The same point could be made, unfortunately, for many of our more traditional European or even North American trading partners.

There is at least one more crucial reason for global civic education. It is a truism that nuclear conflict will affect all of us on the globe if and when it occurs. While the nuclear powers may have a sufficient armament to deter nuclear strikes from one another, the threat of nuclear war still exists, whether due to a mechanical failure, nuclear terrorism, or nuclear extortion. In this context, efforts to resolve conflicts through the United Nations or other international organizations need to be understood for the hope that they represent. The most threatening alternative would be that students remain parochial in their vision and loyalty.

Students will need to be knowledgeable of certain international trends, such as population growth in the third world, the improved communications environment and urbanization (Carras 1969). The prescriptions that Kachaturoff and Blackburn (1978) offered for global education that creates basic "international literacy" include knowledge of geographical and social diversity in the world, values based on global perspectives, and understanding of global-level problems and possible solutions. Students will need to understand cultural pluralism, the differential practice of social justice in world society, and the interdependency of survival on the earth. Recently, Foreign Minister Schevradnadze of the Soviet Union called for a reduction in emphasis on the class struggle as the driving force in Soviet foreign policy and increasing attention to the environment and the growth of market economy. Needless to say, his remarks drew fire from other Soviet leaders. Yet, recognition by a Soviet leader of the threat to the global ecology is a positive sign, an awareness that must be communicated to our civics students as well. We live not just in a nation that struggles with recovery from ecological damage but in a world that is experiencing a dangerous shift in the global environment. As the ozone layer develops more holes, global temperatures rise, and the oceans redeposit the filth that we filled them with, the real dangers to the planet become more apparent (Boyer 1984; Revelle 1982; Toufexis 1988). Civic education should engender a political, military, and social sense of the world as a community.

Pluralism and Civic Education

While we live in a world that is shrinking due to faster, more available communication and transportation, the differences between cultural groups and societies are becoming more apparent. The fact of a shrinking world, of greater awareness and interaction with others, is not, in and of itself, sufficient to ensure harmony. Within the U.S. alone, for example, prejudice and discrimination between ethnic groups has not been overcome simply with increased contact. In many cases, contact has resulted in more, not less, hostility (Cox 1976; Noel 1968; Toufexis 1988; Vander Zanden 1983). While we know that race and ethnic relations can improve with increased contact when the groups are in a relatively equal position of economic and political power (Cox 1976; Noel 1968; Vander Zanden 1983), it may not be possible to create the conditions for such a rise to equality.

In the American tradition, pluralism, as both an objective fact and a normatively prescribed mode of understanding and interacting in society, must lead civic education. Pluralism implies, of course, tolerance of difference. Whether that difference is within or outside of the country, ethnically, economically, or socially based, respect for the values, norms, and behaviors of other groups is critical to the maintenance of one's own community.

Tolerance of difference does not mean denial but acceptance of difference in the other. The difference frequently serves to provide clearer and more substantive definition of what one's own culture is. Tolerance of difference is not enough. Tolerance is too passive, too limited and implies ghettoization. In the twenty-first century, we must celebrate difference, glorify difference, while simultaneously recognizing and reaffirming the basic American values of respect for the rights of others. Through a celebration of difference, as a nation, we can grow, continuing to add on to American culture elements of others that work.

At the public policy level, Berger and Neuhaus (1977) argue that it is critical for policy to foster and support "mediating structures," those groups and institutions that stand between the individual and the larger forces of public activity. By using mediating structures to form and carry out policy, the government supports rather than undermines the family and neighborhood. Maintenance and support for mediating structures makes possible the continued divisions in society that are the basis for pluralism. Cultural pluralism, in turn, makes possible a more complete awareness and interface with the world around us. Through cultural pluralism and its supportive mediating structures, we can see alternatives to problems; new problems are defined; and people are empowered to achieve their goals. Civic education needs to encourage pluralism, perhaps by having students participate in some of their own mediating structures. By joining with their families, neighborhoods, churches, and voluntary associations, students can become involved in the civic life of the community for the public good.

Civic Education and the Search for Community

Civic education is a structured opportunity for the educational system to support and enhance community and pluralism in American society. Adolescents are by definition in between their complete adult roles and childhood dependence. Through them, however, the society and its communities will or will not survive. Etzioni (1983a) and Boyer (1983), among other writers calling for reform of American education, suggest the requirement of community service for youth. Etzioni, in particular, recommends a year. The civics course, particularly if its scope were expanded, could be an opportunity to initiate that community service.

There are a number of themes expressed in this paper that would be heightened by a period of service in the community. First, through involvement, youth would become active participants in the community organization and through that activity would experientially get to know the community. Not only would they know an organization through involvement, they would become part of the group. In other words, youth would become involved, become true members of the community through role performance. Second, by virtue of their involvement, youth would have the opportunity to experience belonging to the conventional community. Through membership, the sense of alienation and anomie that seems inevitably a part of adolescence could be lessened. Third, through membership, through participation in some community organization, youth would have the opportunity to experience working for the public good, for the good of others. Fourth, through their participation in a community organization, youth would interact with other groups. They would have an organizational sense of their place in the community. At this level, experiencing cultural difference and, through the organizational context, cultural pluralism, would be more meaningful than the abstract review of different ethnic or political groups in the classroom.

Civic Education and Sociological Knowledge

There are three implications of sociological knowledge for civic education that are addressed in this section. First, as argued earlier, sociological concepts serve as interpretative guideposts for both laypersons and professionals in making sense of the social world. In post-industrial society in particular, in which the traditional sign markers of social reality are less visible and useful, sociological concepts (as well as those of other social and behavioral sciences) serve to create conceptual order out of confusing information.

Second, as discussed in other places (Farmer 1984; Short, Matlock, and Watts 1986; Short, Watts, and Matlock 1987), secondary teachers, including sociology secondary teachers, are not well trained in the meaning of sociological concepts or knowledge as measured by the number of hours of sociology college course work that they have taken or by their own perception of qualifications to teach sociology. Workshops offered by professional associations for teachers may represent a faster alternative than extensive college coursework to ensure that teachers of both high school sociology and civics have adequate knowledge.

Whatever the vehicle for improving teachers' sociological knowledge, there will have to be a reconceptualization of what is meant by social studies, including civic education (Switzer 1986). Until the need for education in a common cultural core is recognized, until the need for a conceptual frame that analyzes social life in terms of roles, institutions, and social processes, and until the nation recognizes the critical importance of awareness of the web of social life, calling for increased teacher education in sociology may be futile.

The third but related sociological implication for civic education is what C. Wright Mills (1959) has identified as the key feature of the sociological imagination: making private troubles public issues. In this paper, a number of private troubles have been mentioned. They include divorce, single parenthood, poverty, and drug abuse. The list could be more exhaustive: alcoholism, mental and physical illness, gender and race discrimination, homelessness, unemployment, and loneliness, for example. As each person confronts a problem alone or in some small group, such as the family, the dysfunctional elements of the problem can overwhelm the individual. Few families or individuals have the resources to overcome unemployment caused by plant closings or to deal with drug abuse on the scale with which it has affected the U.S. Many of us are in isolation from others who may struggle with these private troubles. However, the nature of the troubles that confront individuals today truly transcends an individual level of analysis; most private troubles need to be understood as overwhelmingly public issues. Issues concern the public and are grounded in the institutional structure of the society. As each person performs roles, that performance is within an institutional and social context. Resolution of difficulty, which each person experiences privately, can only be achieved by institutional adjustment and change accomplished by people working together.

Working on public issues for the public good, citizens can join together as a community to achieve social coherence, identity, and purpose. The placement of students in service internships or work situations in the community may give them an early experience of involvement in public issues. Through community service, youth can participate in the process of culture and in the institutions of society, contributing to the creation of themselves as good citizens.

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Pushing Against the Margins: A Commentary and Response to Watts, Matlock, and Short

Carla B. Howery

I am excited about the premise of this conference, to extend civics education and presumably to improve it. With bold partisanship, I assert that sociology can help reach that goal. Sociology per se is relatively absent from civics education in the secondary schools, at best appearing as an elective for high school seniors. Our discipline must work in partnership with educators to see what contributions are most effective for the eighth- and ninth-grade civics curriculum. Once these goals are set, teachers need to be better trained in sociology (as the Watts et al. paper argues) and curriculum materials need to be developed.

At the outset, I admit to having a bone to pick with Diane Ravitch's well-publicized report for the National Endowment for the Humanities. Finding after finding points to students woefully ignorant of our nation's history and world geography. Her damning finger points to the civics curriculum, which she disparagingly describes as "tot sociology." I share her concerns but reject her conclusion. We can continue the debate as I argue for "teen sociology."

My pitch here is to include more, not less, sociological material in the eighth- and ninth-grade civics curriculum, because in doing so:

1. We push the margins of civics education to a better place—a notion of the citizenry more broadly conceived than relationships with formal government.
2. We identify powerful ideas in sociology that empower students and therefore interest them.
3. We match the developmental needs of that age group with challenging intellectual material.

Civics broadly conceived should refer to being a good citizen in all the social groups in which we participate. We all conduct our lives on the assumption that most of the time, most people will stop at red lights—even when an agent of the government (i.e., police) is not around to catch offenders. We have internalized the right thing to do, "right" in the sense of living respectfully (and safely) with other people. Other rules of social conduct aren't so clear, and there is not as much consensus. Can people park RVs in front of their own homes in rule-bound suburban developments? Should public schools observe holidays of one or more religious or ethnic traditions? Should warning labels appear on records with a rating system for the "offensiveness" of the lyrics? Many of these questions common to everyday life have a partial solution in law but operate primarily in the realm of community consensus (or "disensus"). Our society is becoming more litigious—what countervailing means can we all employ to work out differences and maximize the number of "win-win" solutions?

Life within groups is "where it's at"—for eighth graders and for their teachers. We operate in families, churches, communities, voluntary organizations, etc. We gain personal identity and support from these groups, as well as the means to make things happen. We need to help teenagers realize that a good citizen is someone who not only knows about government, but also understands general principles of group dynamics. (I will identify some of the tangible pedagogical implications later in the paper.)

I cling to the hope that students are more motivated to learn about society than perhaps about algebraic equations. High school or college students come to sociology/social studies with a motivation to "understand people." If the teachers (and sociology discipline) can control our impulses to shout them down with claims that "sociology is a science," not a route to therapy, we can capture this flicker of motivation and ride with it. Our goal is to help eighth graders understand *society*, not the discipline of sociology. This goal is reasonable, given all the other objectives within the civics curriculum and the limited teacher training in the field.

Eighth and ninth graders come to civics class at a time of life full of ambivalence, insecurity, and rebelliousness. Sociology can channel—not suppress—those developmental characteristics. At this age students can easily fall to one of two extremes: hopeless naivete and gullibility, or acute cynicism. Neither posture furthers civic responsibility. Sociologists know a lot about how people live and act in groups, and about the large social forces that shape but do not determine their life chances. And we know about how social change can come about. These insights—the connection of personal biographies to larger social forces—are exciting and empowering for students at this age.

Let me highlight some of the contributions this paper makes to pushing the margins of the traditional civics course:

1. *The centrality of community* (Watts et al. 1990, 143). Community is a subjective notion, transcending geographic boundaries, and can mean a racial or religious identity, a regional, local, or neighborhood affiliation. This subjective sense becomes an important reference group for the developing individual. At age fourteen, the idea (or the appeal) of being a voter in a national presidential election seems remote at best. A focus on the students' own community(ies) may be more illuminating.
2. *The mutual influence of the individual with the group.* This basic theme of sociology can be elaborated with examples of all kinds of groups:

the subcultures within a school (e.g., jocks, geeks, punks, etc.), school teams, "east side" and "west side" of town, or family groups (of all kinds).

3. *The importance of demographic information.* The twenty-first century will usher in a United States that is more non-white than white, with a significantly older population and regional redistribution of what will forever be a primarily urban-based population. How does one's own life experience get shaped by the birth cohort. (For an excellent exposition of this idea, see Kennedy 1986.) The realization that interdependence is a difficult idea for fourteen-year-olds to grasp makes it all the more urgent to persuasively convey it to them. At a life stage where "me and my choices" are central, it is imperative to set a *context* that identifies what impact those choices will have, and what will affect (and may already have done so) the choices.
4. *The pluralism of family forms* (Watts et al. 1990, 137). Most households do not conform to the Ozzie and Harriet mold. Most of us will experience several family forms throughout our lives and must, as the authors point out, look ahead to likely family patterns. No one marries with the expectation of getting divorced. Everyone should understand the prevalence, consequences, and correlates of divorce, however.
5. *Sociologists can help citizens develop "self discipline, mutuality, civility"* (Watts et al. 1990, 139). The authors need to give greater exposition to Etzioni's three goals. Nonetheless, sociological information can complement that of history (understanding the context the past provides) and political science (understanding law and responsibility) by looking at methods of social control and problem solving.
6. *The need for a core culture* (Watts et al. 1990, 140). Social cohesion is built on a core culture, but this notion is hard to reconcile in light of an increasingly heterogeneous population. The key is to have a pedagogy that critically examines many diverse elements of our culture relating to the actions of government and citizens. Teachers must push against the margins of premature conclusions, as well as against censorship. Read books on slavery by slaves and slaveholders to understand our nation's history. Don't reach closure on Vietnam. Sociology is a question-raising discipline.
7. *The social ecology needs repair* (Watts et al. 1990, 141). Students (and adults) can't cope with the awesome responsibility for all the problems of an interdependent world. But they can identify social problems in their immediate community and realize that individual private problems are connected to large social issues. This insight—repeated and reinforced—may lead to ideas, actions, and solutions that are more tolerant, less blaming of the victim, and more long lasting.

8. *The desirability of national service* (Watts et al. 1990, 150). Etzioni and others identify the usefulness of national service for both the individual student and the community. The general idea can be as full blown as a year of obligatory service, or as humble as some class projects within a local community. Such experiences mean that students are learning both content and values by actively participating in making the world better for others.
9. *The growth and importance of mediating structures* (Watts et al. 1990, 149). Civic education needs to encourage pluralism as students work through their own mediating structures (groups of all sorts) to become active in their community.

To the important insights of Watts et al. let me add four other ways in which I think sociology can push the margins of civic education for the better:

1. The issues of the twenty-first century are people issues, not only technological ones. The Challenger tragedy had as much to do with human chains of command as it did with O-rings. Technology will always precede our ability to know how to manage it, and today's eighth graders must make the decisions on surrogate parenting, genetic testing, organ transplants, and so on.
2. The key challenge to civility is the management of diversity. Skills of conflict resolution/mediation and tolerance are in short supply. Education is thought to broaden a person and increase tolerance. That goal must be a carefully operationalized classroom objective.
3. Life in the twenty-first century will include information overload. Students need to be taught how to assess critically the quality of information, find needed information, make fast and focused (not "quick and dirty") decisions, and certainly not "cop out." Sociology and other social sciences need to help students learn to evaluate data, collect data, and separate out value statements from scientific evidence.
4. Sociology can help students transcend the limitations of common sense. As Descartes put it, "common sense is not so common." Nonetheless, students need to separate their values/preferences/assumptions from empirical evidence. It is all right to hold an opinion for or against the death penalty. It is inaccurate to allege that the death penalty is a deterrent to crime. Civic education should include the goal of respecting knowledge and knowing its limits.

I have appended a list of objectives to serve as a sample of what Watts et al. and my own suggestions might look like in a curriculum. Pedagogically, we must model the behavior we seek from students. That includes data gathering, simulations, social observation, critically looking at the assumptions from which people operate. The twenty-first century brings life into an interdependent, heterogeneous world community. Sociology can help push the margins of intellectual blinders away as the geographic boundaries stretch for today's students.

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Appendix

Some Learning Objectives that Might Be Used in Civic Education

After completing this eighth-grade civics course, students should be able to:

1. Discuss the social implications of inequality based on a position within a class; and explain how stratification systems are maintained.
2. Connect an individual's birth cohort to opportunities and limitations to his or her life chances.
3. Define ethnocentrism and discuss its implications for a culture.
4. Identify sources of social control and how they work.
5. Explain the significance of living in a corporate economy and interacting with bureaucracies.
6. Link events in an individual's personal biography to larger social issues.
7. Indicate how subcultures and countercultures are related to the dominant culture.
8. Outline conditions for useful social scientific evidence.
9. Present examples of the significance of demographic shifts in some other part of the world on their community.
10. Describe their roles and the groups to which they belong and how these relationships link them to the larger society.

Part Six:

Socialization and Civic Education

Introduction to Part Six

William T. Callahan, Jr.

Socialization involves the complex web of events and processes by which children acquire the beliefs and behaviors of the society into which they are born. As such, the relevance of socialization research for curriculum design and instructional practice is self-evident. Insights into what children bring with them to the classroom can be most helpful in framing the content of a curriculum. Similarly, guidance concerning how children process information and acquire knowledge can be of great assistance in devising more effective teaching methods and instructional strategies. Accordingly, the conference presentations by Judith Torney-Purta and Beverly Armento on political and economic socialization, respectively, were eagerly anticipated.

Interestingly, both scholars ultimately reach the same conclusions, albeit via somewhat different routes. Effective education for citizenship, they assert, must take account of students' existing knowledge base and conceptual maps or schemata; consciously structure the curriculum to assist in promoting greater schema complexity; encourage students to be active participants in the construction of knowledge; and provide many opportunities for confronting and discussing social, economic, and political issues and problems. This approach holds great promise for producing not only more effective citizen problem solvers, but also more "civically literate" citizens.

Political socialization is a well-established and well-documented field of study. Research has been ongoing for more than twenty-five years, and Dr. Judith Torney-Purta has been at its forefront. Consequently, the conferees expected Dr. Torney-Purta to provide a straightforward analysis of how insights from the field could inform the eighth- and ninth-grade civics curriculum. It, therefore, came as a major surprise when she took the unique position that existing research in political socialization is, at best, of only limited utility for the purpose of improving civic education. Reconceptualized in terms of current thinking in cognitive psychology, the literature provides clues, but few clear implications, for educational policy and practice.

One of the main reasons political socialization research has been relatively unimportant in educational policy and practice, Dr. Torney-Purta asserts, is because attitudes have been too broadly construed, and studied in ways that minimize their utility to education professionals. A good example of a non-attitude item is the familiar political efficacy scale. The concept of efficacy is an important one, but virtually everything we know about it is wrong. The scales that have been used to measure it do not tap any affective sense of personal efficaciousness. Rather, they appear to gauge respondents' cognitive images of government responsiveness, an entirely different matter.

Ironically, Dr. Torney-Purta finds the few items in the existing literature that reference true attitudes are of little, if any, utility for informing civic education. Patriotism, for example, meets the criteria for attitudes, and is important for schools to promote. This particular attitude, however, is established very early in life. Research suggests that after elementary school, ritualistic efforts to promote patriotism have entirely the opposite effect. On the other hand, there is a very deep literature concerning attitudes of support for political parties and candidates. Manipulating these attitudes, however, is not a legitimate aim for the non-partisan activity of education.

While Judith Torney-Purta finds the established field of political socialization largely wanting in clear implications for educational policy and practice, Beverly Armento faces problems of a different order. Economic socialization is neither well established nor well documented as a field of inquiry. There is no coherent body of literature on how and from whom people acquire the economic knowledge, skills, and beliefs they use in their everyday lives. For different reasons, then, Dr. Armento approaches her task in much the same manner as does Dr. Torney-Purta, searching the limited relevant literature for clues to educational practice and directions for theory building.

A major limitation of existing studies of economic and political socialization, Dr. Armento argues, is their essentially descriptive nature. The process of socialization is deeply embedded in the social milieu, which is a dynamic context. Accordingly, each new generation receives different socialization messages and is required to negotiate different role adaptations for involvement and participation from the preceding generation. Descriptions of these messages and role adaptations are of limited utility because they continually change. What is needed is research that focuses on *how* and *why* certain attitudes and behaviors develop in people, rather than merely documenting what patterns and differences exist.

Drawing on the limited body of research in economic socialization germane to education, Dr. Armento uncovers many of the same relationships and insights gleaned from the literature of political socialization. Most important, perhaps, is the view that children are not simply passive recipients of socialization messages. Rather, they actively interact with them, constructing new knowledge as a function of prior experience and evolving cognitive capacities.

According to Dr. Armento, the development of problem-solving skills and role-taking abilities requires that the civics curriculum provide in-depth problems and case studies for students to explore and analyze. Students would thereby develop enough specific knowledge about particular problems to become conversant in a variety of perspectives. They would then be better prepared to assess complex problems and would have a heightened awareness of the causal and relational elements of particular problems. Congruent with the cognitive development of young adolescents, instruction would begin with and build upon examples familiar to students. Concrete and visual representations of the issues under consideration would be utilized. Instruction would call upon students to relate the new ideas to what they already know, and would encourage them to engage in active learning through such means as putting the new ideas into their own words, drawing graphic representations of the new ideas, or charting relationships between ideas.

The importance of active student involvement and participation in the educational process is one of the few relevant generalizations to be unearthed during Torney-Purta's and Armento's reviews of developmental approaches to explaining the cognitive outcomes of socialization. Children do not simply reproduce adult ideas; they actively construct their own concepts of the civic world from the information they receive in school, from their parents, through the mass media, and so on. Early on, their ideas are vague, poorly connected and focused on but one aspect of a situation. During adolescence, ideas become more structured, better integrated, and less egocentric. Whether this evolution occurs in Piagetian stages, however, is increasingly doubtful. Indeed, as Dr. Torney-Purta sees it, developmental research has serious limitations when applied to education. So serious, in fact, that she advocates abandoning it in favor of information-processing theories drawn from cognitive psychology—a position shared by Dr. Armento.

The new approach to socialization research that Judith Torney-Purta and Beverly Armento support revolves around schemata or concept maps. A schema is a cognitive structure that organizes previously acquired and newly received information. Although a relatively new concept in information-processing theory, the concept of schemata holds considerable promise for linking research in political and economic socialization to educational practice. Conceptualizing political socialization and citizenship education as processes that result in increasingly complex schemata of the political, economic, and social systems, Dr. Torney-Purta cogently argues, has distinct advantages over traditional approaches. In the first instance, it helps to account for the relationship observed in existing studies between civic knowledge and active student involvement in dealing with controversial issues. Constructing and defending their own positions stimulates students to restructure their schemata. Conversely, the difficulty in producing high levels of civic knowledge among young adolescents also becomes explicable. By and large, the school curriculum does not present information in a way that allows students to relate it to existing schemata and restructure them as appropriate.

When students have to explain their reasoning to each other or to the teacher, the process helps them to reorganize their schemata and make them more complex than seems to be the case when they work alone and unchallenged. A major failing of civic education, the two scholars contend, is that while everyone seems to agree that real life demands interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary knowledge and skills, there is no place in the curriculum that focuses explicitly on connections. We have tended, instead, to present data and trust that students will make the connections themselves, a dubious assumption. Dr. Torney-Purta's recent research, while of limited scope, suggests that consciously organizing a civics curriculum around alternatives, constraints, and connections could produce a quantum leap in students' civic abilities. Teachers would need training in assessing the schemata with which their students enter the classroom and in tailoring instructional programs to their conceptions and misconceptions, but the effort seems more than justified by the potential benefits.

Curtis Gans' response to Drs. Torney-Purta and Armento is more in the nature of a different perspective on behavioral and attitudinal outcomes of socialization than a review and critique of their work. As the nation's ranking expert on voter turnout, Mr. Gans is uniquely qualified to discuss trends in electoral participation and attitudes toward voting. These are important matters, as the goal of civic education is not simply a better-informed citizenry, but a more active one, and these issues are not directly broached by the socialization papers.

Paralleling trends in civic knowledge, the participatory profile of the American citizenry is not good. Despite myriad efforts to ease technical barriers to registration and voting and to enfranchise new groups, turnout in presidential elections has declined more than 20 percent since 1960. The experience of America's youngest voters is particularly troubling. The only group ever to experience a decline in turnout after enfranchisement is eighteen- to twenty-one-year-olds. Less than half of this group turned out for the first election for which they were eligible (1972), and their participation level has steadily declined ever since. In 1988, it is doubtful that it exceeded 30 percent.

Early studies suggested that alienation was at the root of youth non-voting. As Mr. Gans relates, however, it is becoming increasingly clear that the dominant attitude undergirding non-voting among the young is indifference. Many do not feel that their vote makes a difference and have therefore lost the will to exercise the franchise. Such mass indifference presents a clear and present danger to democracy, for as U.S. Supreme Court Justice Brandeis once observed, "the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people" (Campbell 1988).

As Mr. Gans points out, there is no shortage of factors identified as having something to do with declining rates of voter turnout, especially among the young. Parental non-voting undoubtedly helps socialize the young into inactivity and indifference. Weak political parties, rampant individualism, the ill effects of television, and vanishing feelings of community, among many other variables, have also been mentioned. What is in terribly short supply are proposals for reversing current trends, whether through education or other means. Removing all remaining technical impediments to registration and voting would at best only imperceptibly improve participation. Indeed, beyond rather detailed information about the relationship between electoral laws and participation, it is surprising how little is known about the correlates of voting. Hence, Mr. Gans' offer of a research agenda, rather than specific policy prescriptions, to the conference.

The three presentations on socialization provoked some of the liveliest discussions of the entire conference. A vocal minority expressed the feeling that there was not a great deal that schools can do about the decreasing youth participation levels. Their view was that educational practice has not varied too much over the past generation, while participation continues to decline. In that light, general societal conditions probably have a lot more to do with turnout trends than does education. A somewhat larger group disagreed, pointing to the emphasis on science education and the corresponding decline in concern for civic education in the wake of Sputnik as one indication of a major change in education that occurred just before the downward trend in turnout began. Moreover, some conferees pointed out that in a recent study civics texts were indicted as dull and lifeless (Carroll et al. 1987). Since the text is often the course, the argument was made that education is not blameless in the rise of the cult of youth indifference.

The conferees were surprised, if not shocked, by the almost wholesale rejection by Dr. Torney-Purta of the relevance of existing political socialization research to education. That she and Dr. Armento should both advocate a new approach to civic education, grounded in research in cognitive psychology, was also a major surprise. Rather than stimulating heated arguments, the novelty of their stances and recommendations led to a great deal of probing and exploratory questioning.

Several conferees pursued Dr. Torney-Purta's reasoning about attitudes. That familiar political efficacy scales are not really attitude items was largely accepted. What raised some concern was how a new definition of attitudes would affect scholarly discourse. The potential for confusion over terminology seemed great. More importantly, many questions were directed to the issue of how the cognitive and the affective fit together. Both scholars agreed that this was a central issue, but one about which social studies educators are far more ambivalent than are science educators, who have taken hold of notions like schemata and have run with them. Until the issue is carefully examined through research and experimental curricula, civic education will continue to lag behind advances in other subject areas.

Another major axis of discussion revolved around knowledge and the way that it is organized. Dr. Armento explained that she does not see a separation between the teaching and the use of knowledge. Teaching, in her view, is a generative activity, as is the creation of knowledge. Learning is the process of constructing knowledge or ideas, which is quite different from just transmitting facts. She explained that what she and Dr. Torney-Purta are advocating is a different way of conceptualizing teaching as well as learning, problem solving as well as knowledge. In this view of teaching and learning, cooperative learning and other "active" strategies loom large.

The discussion of knowledge and its organization led into extended consideration of standardized testing. The conferees noted that many studies of the civic knowledge of American youth have been undertaken in recent years, most yielding appalling results. Dr. Torney-Purta argued, however, that the low scores observed on tests of civic knowledge are partially the result of test construction protocols. More fundamentally, multiple-choice tests reference only a particular kind of knowledge—that which is stored in piecemeal fashion, memorized as discrete facts unrelated one to another. Such tests do not tap the organized knowledge structures in which individuals store and retrieve meaningful information. Accordingly, their results should be viewed with caution. Moreover, a curriculum that emphasizes the construction of complex conceptual structures of civic processes rather than the rote memorization of facts about government could appear to be a failure if judged on the basis of student performance on multiple-choice tests. As a consequence, one of the most significant contributions the Our Democracy project could make to civic education would be the development and validation of a new method for evaluating student performance that includes the assessment of organized knowledge structures.

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Political Socialization

Judith Torney-Purta

Research on the acquisition of political attitudes and knowledge during childhood and adolescence was published regularly from the mid-sixties through the mid-seventies by political scientists, psychologists, and social studies educators. Then for about ten years little new work appeared, leading Cook (1985) to appropriately entitle an article, "The Bear Market in Political Socialization." Within the past two years there have been several conferences and symposia on this topic. At least two will result in substantial publications.[1] Since there is also renewed interest in citizenship education, it is an appropriate time to examine the implications of political socialization research for educational policy and practice.

The purpose of this chapter is to review research in political socialization as it provides a background for enhancing citizenship education. This chapter argues, however, that past research has failed to provide clear implications for educational policy or practice. In order to make this point, a number of major studies published from 1966 to the present will be examined. Some of these studies will be reconceptualized within a framework derived from cognitive psychology, a framework in which the idea of schema, representation, or conceptual network is important. A schema or representation may be defined as a cognitive structure that organizes previously acquired and newly received information; that has an impact on remembering and retrieving information and using it for solving problems; and that may be related to attitudes. Glaser (1988) has defined schemata as "modifiable information structures that represent generic concepts stored in memory." A schema is constructed by an individual and is therefore not a faithful reflection or copy of a reality existing in the world. Cognitive psychologists usually study schemata by relatively indirect methods (for example, by asking subjects to think aloud while they solve a problem or to state the links they see between concepts).

Political scientists have studied adults' political schemata (Conover and Feldman 1984; Lau and Sears 1986). However, these studies of political cognition have not concentrated on young people's schemata or on processes of schemata change. As a result, the existing research on political cognition has only limited applicability for those concerned with citizenship education. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the ways in which research using the concept of young people's political schemata can be related to citizenship education.

Brief Descriptions of Studies Summarized

In order to refer to the specific findings of a given study within several different sections of the chapter, brief descriptions are given here of the major research projects.

In 1961 a team of investigators at the University of Chicago gave questionnaires to more than 12,000 second to eighth graders in four major regions of the United States. Two books resulted (Hess and Torney 1967; Easton and Dennis 1969). The investigators were primarily interested in measuring attitudes related to issues such as support for the government, relationships to political authority, and likelihood of political participation. The influence of the school and of factors such as the child's intelligence on socialization were emphasized.

In the mid-1960s 120 students from the fifth, seventh, ninth, and twelfth grades in Ann Arbor, Michigan responded to a variety of hypothetical dilemmas in which they were asked to imagine that a group of individuals is attempting to establish a government and laws on an island in the Pacific. These data are reported by Adelson and O'Neil (1966) and Adelson, Green, and O'Neil (1969). In a later addition to the study, comparable groups in Britain and Germany were interviewed. These data are summarized in Gallatin (1976).

In 1965 a team of investigators at the University of Michigan gave questionnaires to a national probability sample of more than 20,000 students and interviewed almost 10 percent of these students and one or both parents of each. The investigators were interested in attitude correspondence between parents and children on political issues as well as in attitudes on such points as political efficacy (Jennings and Niemi 1974). A second wave of this panel study, in which 80 percent of the students were reinterviewed, was conducted in 1973 and is reported in Jennings and Niemi (1981). A subsequent panel wave has been collected, and preliminary data have been published (Jennings, 1987).

In 1968 approximately 120 Australian children from five to sixteen years of age were interviewed on a variety of topics dealing with domestic politics and international relations. The report of this study is contained in Connell (1971).

In 1971 a team of investigators, part of the multinational consortium of institutions called the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA), conducted a survey of civic education in eight countries of Western Europe and the United States. The IEA Civic Education Survey paralleled other studies in subject areas such as mathematics and science. The survey format included multiple-choice cognitive items and a variety of attitudinal measures in various formats. Stratified random samples of schools and students were drawn. In the United States 3,200 fourteen-year-olds and 3,000 seniors in high school were tested. Some national comparisons were made, showing the U.S. to be high on attitude scales relating to a positive image of the government and sense of political efficacy and on scales measuring interest in political participation. Regression analysis was used to assess the influence of home background and various school characteristics and practices (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975; Torney-Purta 1984).

In the 1970s Furth and his colleagues (1980) interviewed 195 children aged five to eleven from three primary schools in southern England. They were questioned about the community, societal roles, money, shops, the school, the bus service, and the local Council.

In the 1970s 800 British children, aged seven to eleven, were engaged in small group discussions of politics. These data are reported in Stevens (1982).

In 1974 a sample of 1,000 Pennsylvania high school seniors was studied using both survey and interview methodology. Cognition, affect, and participation were measured with both multiple-choice and open-ended questions. Findings are reported in Sigel and Hoskin (1981).

In 1974 a group of investigators in Southern California began a longitudinal interview study of almost 250 kindergarten students, who were interviewed ten times between their school entry and their high school graduation. The data from the first five years of the study are reported in Moore, Lare, and Wagner (1985).

In the late 1970s approximately 1,000 Italian children, aged three to fourteen, were given a Piagetian style interview about economic issues. The data are reported in detail in Berti and Bombi (1988), a translation of a book originally published in Italian in 1981.

In 1976 and 1977 approximately 1,000 Chicano seventeen- to nineteen-year-olds from nine public schools in Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Albuquerque were interviewed, either through surveys or an in-depth protocol. Some were reinterviewed five years later (Jankowski 1986).

In the early 1980s two studies were conducted of knowledge of and attitudes toward international issues and global problems with high school students. One study surveyed approximately 1,000 high school students in eight U.S. states (Torney-Purta 1984), and the other, conducted as part of the Stanford Study and the Schools, surveyed about 1,500 students in Northern California (Torney-Purta and Landsdale 1986). Regression analysis was used to determine the predictors of high scorers on the cognitive tests, and some classroom observations were conducted in the second study.

In 1986 Hahn (1988) administered a questionnaire with measures such as political interest and confidence, efficacy, support for women's rights, and classroom climate to nearly 1,500 students from twenty-one schools in the U.S., Britain, Denmark, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Preliminary analysis has dealt with scale development and some between-country differences. U.S. students were especially high on political efficacy, political confidence, and political trust (paralleling findings in the IEA studies).

In 1986 a national sample of 8,000 seventeen-year-olds was tested with a multiple-choice test of knowledge of history (including a substantial number of questions on twentieth-century history) through the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Results are to be found in Ravitch and Finn (1987).

These studies vary in type of methodology, size and choice of sample, and theoretical framework in which they were conceptualized. The historical time in which they were conducted influences some results, as does the country or the region of the U.S. in which they took place. The next sections of this chapter will discuss the core idea that lies behind each of the several kinds of political socialization outcomes that have been measured, first examining work that purports to measure an attitude; second, examining research on cognitive outcomes defined as knowledge elements; third, examining cognitive outcomes viewed as perceptions, images, or beliefs; fourth, examining cognitive outcomes relating to some sort of developmental stage (usually Piagetian); and finally presenting a reconceptualization of some of this research in terms of cognitive psychology, using concepts such as schemata and cognitive restructuring.

Attitudes as Outcomes of Socialization

Research from the early 1960s through the present has used the construct "attitude" to describe important outcomes of the results of the political socialization process. In some cases attitude has been used loosely to cover anything that was not a cognitive item for which a correct answer could be designated or anything that was measured on a rating scale. A somewhat more stringent criteria is appropriate. An attitude item should assess feelings about an attitude object, and these feelings should be related to self-identity, interest, motivation, or potential action.

Some "attitude outcomes" studied in the political socialization literature meet these criteria, for example, national pride and generalized support for the political system. Most studies have found children, and even adolescents, to be positive about their national symbols, highly supportive of the political system of their country, and expressing high levels of liking and trust for political leaders, especially the president (Hess and Torney 1967; Moore et al. 1985). Young children appear to acquire this positive orientation even in the absence of very clear ideas about what their country or government is. American adolescents continue to take pride in America and its government, although Watergate was followed by some diminution of that feeling. The modal response reported for high school seniors by Sigel and Hoskin (1981) to the question, "Are you proud to be an American?" was, "Proud of it most of the time, but ashamed sometimes." Explicit comparisons were sometimes made to conditions in other countries, especially lack of freedom under communism. This illustrates the extent to which national feeling may be defined by reference to other disliked countries or countries perceived as enemies.

Young people in many countries other than the U.S. express similar national feelings (for example, very positive in Israel, although considerably less positive in Finland) (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975). The concept of loyalty to the national and local community, in the sense of willingness to sacrifice one's own interests for the common good, is stressed as an attitude of "civic virtue" by Conover, Searing, and Zinni (1988). By the criteria proposed here, national feeling and willingness to sacrifice for the common good are attitudes because of the affective nature of the response.

Jankowski's (1986) interview study of Chicano adolescents assessed cognitive dimensions of responses to political ideologies before asking about affective or attitudinal responses. Respondents were asked first what they knew about capitalism/liberal democracy, Chicano nationalism (separatism), communism, and socialism; then they were asked how they felt about each of these ideologies. There were substantial differences between the youth in three cities. In San Antonio students were most able to describe capitalism/liberal democracy. Jankowski concluded this ability was because of a required course on the free enterprise system. These respondents had little awareness of Chicano nationalism. In Los Angeles and Albuquerque, many students knew Chicano nationalism best, usually from contacts with speakers or literature outside the school or from discussions with their parents. Many students were positive about this ideology. In contrast, capitalism/liberal democracy tended to be associated with Anglos and viewed negatively. For example, the only groups in Los Angeles who viewed capitalism/liberal democracy positively were those of high socioeconomic status (SES) and those of low SES who were recent migrants hopeful about their opportunities. Those from both middle and lower SES families tended to be alienated from liberal democratic and capitalistic ideologies. This study is of interest because the author first measured the schemata of capitalism/liberal democracy that the students could articulate, following that with the attitudinal question regarding feelings about the ideology.

Another outcome that is appropriately called an attitude because of its explicit affective component is exemplified by the Global Concern Measure, originally developed by Barrows and his colleagues for the Educational Testing Service (ETS) study of attitudes toward the world and used by Torney-Purta (1985) with high school students. This scale includes items such as "The fact that a flood can kill 25,000 people in India is very depressing to me." Some items also relate to expressed interest in learning about other cultures. A regression analysis found girls to have higher scores than boys on this concern scale. Other factors related to a high score were reading the international news in the newspaper, watching TV news, and participation in extra-curricular activities with an international component. Those who were more fluent in foreign language and those who had taken more foreign language courses also expressed higher levels of concern, suggesting that the experience of learning another language may increase empathy and concern for those in other countries in general (Torney-Purta, 1985).

Feelings of support for specific candidates or for the Democratic or Republican party also lie within the core meaning of attitudes proposed here. These have been very important in many socialization studies (Jennings & Niemi, 1974, 1981). Because the purpose of this review is to inform citizenship education whose hallmark in the U.S. is non-partisanship, these attitudes are not discussed in this chapter.

Responses to specific public issues such as those used by Jennings and Niemi (1974) (e.g., integration of schools or allowing Communists to hold office) are more difficult to unequivocally classify as attitudes. Much of the variation in responses on these items depends on the kind of image or concept the respondent has of institutions (such as schools), groups (such as black children), or political organizations (such as the Communist Party). Without inquiry about the cognitive components of those images for an individual, the positive or negative character of an affective response is difficult to interpret.

Feelings of tolerance for those holding beliefs different from one's own have also been included in many studies of democratic citizenship as attitudinal outcomes (Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus 1982; Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975). Classifying tolerance as an attitude by the criteria of affectivity is also problematic. In fact Mueller argues that "it may be far too generous to believe there is anything like a real, tangible 'attitude about' or 'commitment to' or 'hostility toward' civil liberties" (1988, 22).

The scale Support for Women's Rights (from the IEA study) included statements such as "women should have the same rights as men in every way" and "women should stay out of politics." The indirect evidence indicates that there is an affective component to this scale in the sense of a personal feeling of identification; there was a very strong tendency for females to support women's rights more than males did in all nine countries (Torney-Purta 1984). Even in countries such as Finland where women's rights are well established, sex differences on these items were greater than sex differences for any other items. Hahn's more recent data (1988) show similar trends. This set of items appears to have some attitudinal or self-identification component, probably in addition to cognitive components.

There is one set of items that has been labeled as "attitudes" in many political socialization studies which does not meet the criteria in this definition of attitudes—the political efficacy scale, including items such as, "there are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing, and they do not care about us ordinary people." Disagreeing with items such as these has been interpreted as indicating an individual's personal investment in political activity. Responses to these items appear rather to be an index of the respondent's cognitive image of the government, not an index of personal sense of efficaciousness. This interpretation of the political efficacy items as measuring the individual's view of the government rather than an attitude of self-involvement is corroborated by the IEA studies in which the political efficacy scale consistently clustered together with the image of government and did not relate to items dealing with personal interest or participation in government (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975). This is not to argue that there is no such thing as an attitude of political self-efficacy, but only that the items used to measure it are several steps removed from any attitudinal or affective aspects.

What is the relevance for citizenship education of the various "attitude outcomes" discussed? Support for a political party or particular candidate certainly has a strong affective component, but changing these attitudes is not a legitimate educational aim.

Pride in country and general support for government meet the criteria for attitudes; in the United States these affective states are important for the school to promote, but two pieces of research data should be kept in mind. First, many of these feelings are quite well established early in the school years by powerful socialization from schools, families, and media (Hess and Torney 1967; Moore et al. 1985). Second, there is evidence from the IEA study that an overemphasis on patriotic rituals after elementary school has a counterproductive effect: frequent participation in patriotic rituals was associated with *lower* scores on knowledge of civics and on lower support for democratic values (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975).

Attitudes such as concern for others (especially those in other countries or those suffering from injustice), support for the common good, and interest in learning about situations different from the one in which one lives are important and often understressed aspects of the school's curriculum. Research on altruism or perspective taking as a kind of social cognition is relevant here; the interest dimension is, however, an important and not always well-understood part of the schools' work in citizenship education.

When considering scales such as support for women's rights, tolerance and civil liberties, or sense of political efficacy, the cognitive component may be as important as the affective one. What is the individual's image of the political system, either in reality or in the ideal situation? How are the roles that women play in society and politics viewed? How are the aims of interest groups perceived? Recognizing that these aspects of socialization include both affective and cognitive structures actually may make the school's job easier by suggesting ways of helping the individual build images or schemata of the system that link citizens in general or women citizens in particular to political institutions. This is likely to be more successful than taking the affective approach of preaching women's equality or citizen's duty in the classroom.

In summary, several types of measures frequently labeled "attitudes" in political socialization research have been reviewed. It is argued that one of the reasons political socialization research has been relatively unimportant in influencing citizenship education is that attitudes have been too broadly construed, and studied in such a way that little guidance can be given to educational practice. In the last section of the chapter, ways of connecting attitudes to cognitive structures will be explored.

Discrete Knowledge Elements as Cognitive Outcomes of Socialization

The previous section suggested that in many political socialization studies so-called attitudes actually include an essential component, which is the cognitive images of institutions and individuals who relate to those institutions. One way of looking at these cognitive elements is as relatively discrete pieces of factual information, usually measured with either multiple choice or short-answer questions. Ravitch and Finn (1987) argue that there is an inadequate knowledge of history among American seventeen-year-olds based on their average score on a multiple choice test of 54.6 percent correct. These authors concluded with a number of recommendations to deal with what they call "a generation at risk," and especially called for requirements for history taught continuously through the school years and a greater stress on chronological history.

The IEA study included cognitive tests of substantial length and breadth of coverage. Fourteen-year-old students in the U.S. achieved a mean score of 24.7 out of 47 items, placing them in fourth rank out of eight countries (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975). American students tended to know relatively more about national politics and institutions than about international politics, when compared with those in other countries (Torney 1977). Among the predictors of a high score on the cognitive test in a regression analysis were high socioeconomic status of home, gender (with boys scoring higher), enrollment in an academic track, teachers' willingness to introduce controversial issues in the classroom, encouragement of students' expressions of opinion in the classroom, and infrequent practice of patriotic rituals in the classroom.

A study of international knowledge, in which a twenty-eight-item multiple-choice test was used with nearly 1,000 students, also found mean scores near 50 percent correct (Torney, 1985). A regression analysis showed that higher scoring students were those with higher GPAs, those who read international news in the newspapers, those who watched TV news, those who had taken more social studies courses (especially courses in international relations, world geography, or Western Europe), and those who had visited another country. The Stanford Study and the Schools project found similar predictors for a test of knowledge of international economics and security with the additional finding that students who felt free to disagree with their teachers in class also scored higher (Torney-Purta and Landsdale 1986).

The Sigel and Hoskin (1981) study of high school seniors included a fifteen-item current events test and open-ended questions asking students to identify political issues and list government actions relating to issues.

Again in this study the percentage correct is a little more than 50 percent. Items dealing with events recently in the news were more likely to be known than other information. The average student in the mid-seventies was at least aware of a number of domestic political issues; 100 percent mentioned Watergate, with substantial numbers also mentioning inflation, and the energy crisis.

It is possible to obtain some hints about educational processes from multiple-choice tests by examining similarities among the predictors of high performance in studies conducted with different samples and methods. Where differences by gender exist, boys tended to perform better. Most important, students in a classroom climate that includes the discussion of controversial issues and in which they are encouraged to express their own opinions, even if those opinions disagree with the opinions of the teacher, perform at higher levels than students in classrooms in which teachers stress memorization of unrelated facts.

Political socialization studies that have dealt with young children have tended to ask questions in an interview format, such as, "who does most to run the country?" Because these questions are administered face to face and because of appropriate sensitivity to young children's desire to please adult interviewers by giving correct answers, there is some tendency to delete the more difficult questions from interviews for the early elementary grades.

Although most studies find that adolescents are more knowledgeable than younger children, the level of correct answers on multiple-choice surveys of political knowledge (both domestic and international) tends to hover around the 50 to 60 percent correct mark. These low scores have been interpreted as indicating a very poor grasp of political issues by youth. This percentage may partially be a function of the fact that those who construct these tests choose to include some very easy items, some rather difficult items, and a majority of items of moderate difficulty. In fact, manuals on test construction often urge that most items be constructed so that 40 to 50 percent of respondents answer them correctly. Those who construct surveys are not prompted to eliminate difficult questions, as are those interviewing young children. This artifact of test construction is important, since none of the tests cited here was criterion referenced (that is, designed to measure knowledge that is known to have been covered in the curriculum). Even with this caveat, however, young children or adolescents are not well informed about those things that many educators think they should know. The students tested may not be as deficient as some of the studies using this method of testing have suggested, however.

The tests described above have dealt primarily with pieces of knowledge tested without reference to their connection to other pieces of knowledge. Cognitive psychologists would call these "accretions to the knowledge base." In answering these questions, some students refer to organized structures of knowledge in which specific pieces of material are embedded. For example, some respondents probably carry a type of time line in their heads that allows them to retrieve dates quickly. However, it is probable that most students in deciding which multiple choice answer to choose search through a set of unrelated facts learned by a rote process. "Piecemeal memory storage" is only the most basic element of what cognitive psychologists believe to be important in knowledge acquisition. Information that is organized and connected to cognitive structures is much more important, and multiple-choice tests tell us little about that.

Because most multiple-choice tests measure discrete knowledge elements stored in a piecemeal fashion, the applications of their results are limited. Unless the tests are referenced to the criterion of what is taught in classes (very difficult to do in the United States, which lacks any central curriculum) and related to the structures in which individuals store and retrieve information, they should be used with caution.

Many U.S. school districts place a great deal of weight on measuring educational output with multiple-choice tests, even connecting teacher pay raises or school funding to student performance. A curriculum that is highly successful in helping students build complex conceptual structures of civic processes but that does not stress learning discrete facts about government may appear to have failed if results are measured on a multiple-choice test of such factual knowledge. Any curriculum development effort in citizenship education must develop and validate methods for evaluating student and school performance that are not limited to multiple-choice tests and that include the assessment of organized knowledge structures.

Perceptions and Images as Cognitive Outcomes of Socialization

A number of political socialization studies have used structured measures to obtain information about perceptions and images of institutions rather than focus on discrete knowledge elements. Some of these have been conducted with survey instruments, others with interviews (see also the Jankowski material on perceptions of ideology covered in the previous section).

For example, Sigel and Hoskin (1981) assessed understanding of what democracy is by asking students how they would explain this form of government to a foreign student who came from a country where democracy was not the form of government. Their answers were scored on a five-point scale for sophistication. Many of the students simply repeated slogans regarding individuals' freedom to do as they pleased without government interference, or (to a lesser degree) rule by the people rather than by an authoritarian leader. It was the rare student who could give two or more features of democracy and relate them to each other. However, students who had a more sophisticated image of democracy were also more likely to be able to apply democratic principles in everyday problem situations.

Sigel and Hoskin also asked students about their images of how the government provides certain services or guarantees certain rights for citizens. The ranking of these services from those performed best (providing a strong national defense, giving all young people a good education, encouraging the growth of business) to those performed least well (fighting inflation, weeding out corruption in government) is an interesting index of students' images of the government.

The IEA survey dealt with images of the political power structure. The president or prime minister and members of Congress or the Parliament were believed to be the most influential by fourteen-year-olds in all of the tested European countries, followed by union leaders and rich people. Newspaper editors and radio/television commentators were rated quite low in their influence on laws and policy—ninth or tenth out of ten in all the countries. Variation between nations was greatest in ratings given the "average person." He or she was seen as moderately influential in New Zealand, Ireland, and the United States and lacking influence in the Federal Republic of Germany.

A score assessing the understanding that there are differences in opinion among groups in society on political issues showed the older students and boys to be more aware of political conflict. Although these questions did not have answers that could be called correct or incorrect, they did provide a characterization of the young person's view of the political process.

These findings concerning images or perceptions of democracy and of political power structures suggest the extent to which students tend to center on one meaning of a concept to the exclusion of subtleties (e.g., the concepts of democracy as relating to the adolescents' concern for being able to do what they want without interference from authority) and the extent to which they overemphasize the roles that are most familiar to them (e.g., the average citizen and not the newspaper editor) when looking at the political power structure. This "centration" is an important cognitive characteristic of young people, which influences the type of citizenship education curriculum that will be successful.

Using Developmental Stages or Processes to Explain Cognitive Outcomes of Socialization

Nearly all of the research in this field conducted by psychologists (and some of the work of sociologists and political scientists) has used the concept of stage in describing cognitive outcomes of socialization. Some of these are "weakly defined developmental approaches," merely describing political ideas to which older and younger students subscribe and referring to them as stages, without any evidence for the characteristics that most psychologists attach to stages—qualitative change, coherence, and longitudinal evidence of progressive change without regression. "Moderately well-defined developmental approaches" incorporate evidence regarding the processes by which development takes place, either in addition to or instead of focusing on stages. These approaches represent considerable advances beyond the conceptualizations of cognitive outcomes dealt with in the previous two sections and can also be integrated with the cognitive approaches utilizing schemata discussed later.

First, there are a number of examples of the "weakly defined developmental approach." The results of an IEA instrument used to assess perceptions of institutions were interpreted to suggest that there are five "stages" in political socialization in ten- to twenty-year-olds (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975):

1. Vague, inarticulate notions, with emergent notions of one or two institutions (e.g., the police).
2. The "sheltered" view, in which primarily the harmonizing values and processes become established (e.g., creating a better understanding so that people can live and work together).
3. An intermediate stage of growing awareness of social conflict, of economic forces, of multiple institutional roles but essentially still with a sheltered orientation.
4. The sophisticated/realistic view, with less stress on fair-mindedness and understanding, awareness of both the cohesive and divisive functions of many institutions, of social bias, low participation, oppressive potential.
5. Skepticism about institutions and lack of belief in their efficacy; an emphasis on unfairness.

It was not suggested that stage five represented a higher level of political maturity, but only that the students were nearly always in the oldest group where it appeared. These were merely descriptive statements characterizing the responses given by older and younger students.

Moore and his colleagues (1986), in what is also a relatively weak developmental approach, described six stages within three levels for kindergarten through fourth-grade students, and extrapolated through the school years. The young person was described as progressing from an undifferentiated view, to identifying a single critical feature or function, to including more critical features and cognizing ideology. However, students in Moore's longitudinal study often regressed in "stage level." The paralleling of these stages to Piaget's preoperational, concrete, and formal operations was inferred from general similarities to the work of others and not based on independent measures of level of cognitive functioning. Although rich longitudinal data were available, they were not analyzed in a way to identify developmental processes. This is therefore a "weakly defined developmental approach."

Furth and his colleagues delineated stages in their British sample's understanding of societal institutions, and they also dealt with developmental processes:

Stage 1. Personalistic: There is acceptance of observed experience (e.g., with shops and bus drivers) with minimal interpretation or attempts to link information with what is already known (five to six years).

Stage 2. First Order Social Functions: There is differentiation applied to observed experiences, expression of playful images that allow the child to try out alternative interpretations going beyond observations. Little attempt to integrate ideas (seven to nine years).

Stage 3. Part-systems in Conflict: There is compensatory thinking that searches for logical and factual coherence as a response to internal conflict, but is often satisfied with compromise solutions (ten to eleven years).

Stage 4. Concrete Systematic: There is some reversibility of thinking and some integration connected with formal logical thinking. The differences between personal and social events are appreciated (preadolescence) (Furth 1980; Berti and Bombi 1988).

Furth's framework is a "moderately well-defined developmental approach," but the stage descriptions are not especially well formulated. However, the study is successful in its developmental aim of showing that children's thinking about social processes is not only the result of little knowledge about adult ideas and not merely a copy of adult models. It is the discussion of equilibration of mental structures in explaining the child's active construction of mental images of society and the attention to "developmental experiences" that make this a "moderately well-defined developmental approach." The notion of developmental experience is especially important:

> The children on their own ask questions that reveal an internal conflict and come up with a relevant answer (at least to them); they express discontent about their own opinions and correct themselves; . . . they expressly volunteer their gap in understanding and subsequently get excited as they discover a new insight. In response to an internal disturbance they reach out to a new balance. . . . The social setting of these occasions (interviews) is eminently suitable to developmental experience. The children are cooperating in a conversation with another person who . . . takes the children's viewpoints totally seriously in a noncorrective and supportive fashion. They are like two peers working together on a common problem (Furth 1980, 91-92).

Furth continues:

> An important step in the process of equilibration is the overcoming of positive pull due to personal observations that turn out to be functionally irrelevant (ibid., 95).

The role of misconceptions based on overreliance upon personal observations or naive "hunches" has recently been investigated in the field of natural science in a way paralleling this discussion of developmental processes relating to social institutions . Vosniadou and Brewer (1987) questioned children about observational astronomy, classifying their answers as reflecting either a naive phenomenological view (the earth is larger than the sun, flat, and motionless, and the sun's movement causes the night/

day cycle) or as reflecting a Copernican view. New information could be incorporated into a naive schema or misconception without altering it. For example, a child who was told that there is day in Europe at the same time as night in America assimilated this information into the representation of a flat earth by viewing it as a layer cake, in which a flat America was under a flat Europe; the sun dropped through the European layer to shine on America, and at night went back again.

The child who is given new information may *accumulate* it, either by assimilating it to an existing conceptual framework as illustrated above or by storing it in a piecemeal fashion, relatively unconnected to previously acquired concepts or knowledge. In either case, new information does not modify misconceptions. A new piece of knowledge presented to the child may also result in either weak or radical *restructuring*, that is, accommodation of a schema or concept. In radical restructuring, there is relatively complete reorganization (e.g., in astronomy a view of the earth as spherical and in motion).

Experience and education contribute to these restructuring processes. According to Vosniadou and Brewer, children often restructure their views of the earth when they are shown physical models and when they are involved in Socratic dialogue. This focus on dialogue parallels the description by Furth (1980) of developmental experience and relates to research that highlights the importance of active classroom discussion of political and social issues. Vosniadou and Brewer's contribution to understanding educational influences does not rely on stages but on their recognition of important processes by which young people's schemata or concepts change or are restructured. Connell (1971) also has a "moderately well-defined developmental approach." His interviews included questions about domestic and international politics and were relatively sophisticated in using follow-up questions and in analyzing the data around meaningful developmental concepts. Connell describes the differences between the child's physical and social world. The child does not have direct contact with a social institution or the opportunity to manipulate it in order to see its reactions, as he or she might with a ball of clay. Adults, either in personal relationships as parents or teachers or through their control of the media, determine what a child sees of politics. Adults do not determine, however, what the child thinks or constructs of politics, since children do not simply reproduce adult ideas.

Connell delineates four "stages" and two "stances." The basic stance of young children in this domain is that politics are not problematic. Their statements are relatively "ad hoc," often inconsistent. In the framework of this chapter, these statements are related to unstable, idiosyncratic, and partial schemata or images of what the political world is like. At about the age of nine or ten (an important age in many of these studies), the child begins to notice political alternatives, at first relatively isolated from each other, to realize that opposing policy positions exist, to connect these contrasting positions on politics.

What stages does Connell describe for ages seven to sixteen?

> First is the stage of intuitive thinking in which the child confuses political and nonpolitical, twisting, chopping and fricasseeing political materials with a sublime disregard for their original status as political fact.
>
> Second is the stage of primitive realism in which there is an identification of a distinct political world and the appearance of a "task pool," a collection of ideas about what political leaders do (e.g., tell people what to do). There is little organization of ideas.
>
> Third is the stage in which the political order is constructed by dividing the task pool, expanding concrete detail, and perceiving multiple relationships among political actors.
>
> Fourth is the idealogical stage (not reached universally in his sample, even by the age of sixteen) in which abstract thought about political arguments is possible and society and politics are seen as wholes (1971, 231).

Many of Connell's examples illustrate how children construct their own political views.

Stevens, in her study of British children ages seven through eleven, made explict reference to Piaget's theory, a "moderately well-structured developmental stage approach." She notes that children juxtapose events because they cannot imagine an ordered sequence, cannot make mental comparisons, conceive of rules as absolute, and think egocentrically. Many of the eleven-year-olds in her study were able to connect ideas and link structures with policies in areas such as conservation, women's rights, or economics. This, she notes, parallels Piaget's characterization of concrete-operational children who are able to realize that an idea has more than one aspect, that different interpretations are possible, and that changes are reversible (e.g., role-occupants can be replaced). She drew the following conclusion:

> The age of approximately nine years appears to be significant in the development of political concepts. A spurt in understanding, interest, and the ability to articulate ideas appears to take place. Many of them appear to arrive on a cognitive plateau where less dramatic gains and consolidation are achieved during the next two years. . . . Between nine and ten years of age would appear to be the optimum time for the start of political education (1982, 170).

Berti and Bombi made a careful attempt to deal with stages and to integrate developmental processes in their study of Italian young people. Although they give generalized descriptions of stages, they argue that the child does not have a single overall level of reasoning in the economic sphere. Rather, there are subdomains of understanding. For example, young children may not operate at the same stage in understanding the production of goods and the exchange of goods. Berti and Bombi (1988, 175-185) delineate stages as follows:

1. Preoperatory or pre-economic period (three to six years)—Child sees regularities within situations which are known first hand. A

script exists for the distribution of goods in shops, but things that are not sold in a shop (e.g., cows) cannot be bought. There are few ideas about production: things exist because they are needed.

2. Intuitive level, still pre-economic (six to seven years)—Child sees correspondences between prices of objects and amounts paid and between remuneration and work done. Production and selling are merged and industrial activity is not well understood.
3. Concrete operatory period (seven to ten years)—Pre-economic ideas are replaced by more-articulated understanding that includes the exchange of nontransportable goods outside shops. There is little understanding of the relation of price to costs of production. Two unrelated economic arenas exist—bosses and workers (work and production) and consumers and shopkeepers (buying and selling).
4. Formal operatory period (eleven to fourteen years)—There is a single framework that incorporates work/production and buying/selling. Only with formal operations and the ability to deal with abstract notions can the child organize the different factors that contribute to the formation of prices or coordinate notions of worker-boss-owner. Public institutions are understood. "At earlier levels the words council, government, or state were . . . assimilated to a very general idea of someone who commands or provides for other people; now they are taken as denoting institutions which provide collective services. . . . The owner of the means of production is distinguished from the boss; public institutions are distinguished from private owners" (ibid., 184).

These authors also studied the effects of an economics curriculum that relied on active participation by students, concluding that children as young as eight benefited from this instruction. They also identified beliefs in children that seem quite resistant to instruction, similar to the misconceptions described earlier in astronomy. For example, among the barriers to full understanding of banks' profits are the persistence of interpersonal norms of equality and reciprocity between people, making it seem unfair for a bank to charge for loans.

Berti and Bombi have also studied the effect of pairing children at lower levels of understanding with those at higher levels to ascertain the role played by conflict of perspectives. They note that conflict did produce growth in understanding, but that there were still some general cognitive prerequisites without which children had difficulty in taking advantage of exposure to other points of view.

The research of Furth, Connell, Steven, and Berti and Bombi concerning stages of political or economic understanding gives fascinating glimpses of the political world as it appears to children and how they shape their own awareness of it. This research, however, also has its limitations when applied to education. First, many developmental psychologists have recently questioned whether there are inferential abilities that characterize cognitive functioning across subject areas or domains. This means that labeling a child or an age as being "at stage X" is misleading. Some researchers are even questioning the existence of homogeneous and discrete stages within limited domains, such as the child's understanding of numbers (Gelman and Baillargeon 1983).

Although stages have been defined by researchers in political and economic socialization, specific age limits should not be taken too seriously, as they have often been developed from very limited samples. When such age limits are defined, the mistaken inference may be drawn that biological maturation is important to this process as a factor independent of interaction with the environment. Another mistaken implication is that every eleven-year-old should be expected to have a specific set of skills. This places too little emphasis on individual differences.

The developmental research cited in this section is of relevance to education, however. The most basic and well-supported generalization is that children are constructing their own concepts of the political world from the information that is presented to them in school and from what they see on television or hear their parents discuss. In the early elementary years, these ideas about the civic domain are vague, poorly connected, and centered on one aspect of a situation. Only in middle to late adolescence do well-structured and integrated images appear (and only in some students).

Some have argued that cognitive development at a relatively high level should be seen as a prerequisite to the ability to benefit from civic education. For example, it has been suggested that until a young person is at the formal operational level, one should not burden the curriculum with discussions of citizenship and politics. The developmental research cited above suggests why that is not desirable. First, even if there are developmental stages in understanding the physical world, it is not clear how these relate to understanding the social world. Second, there is a great deal of spread in the cognitive stage levels of young persons at any given age or grade level. If one waited until the majority of members of a class were clearly at the formal operational level, no citizenship education would take place in some high schools. Third, several of these researchers note that children of about ten or eleven seem especially receptive to discussions of citizenship and politics. Such discussions may stimulate aspects of their more general cognitive development as well as their understanding specific to the domain of politics. Even those who delineate stages argue for the importance of educational input through the school years (Berti and Bombi 1988; Gallatin 1976).

The processes of assimilation and accommodation that developmentalists in general and Piaget in particular identified have become the basis of some new approaches to understanding cognitive development and education that do not rely on delineating stages. Some recent work on cognitive restructuring has had considerable impact on the reform of science education (Carey 1986). Almost all of the developmentally-based approaches argue for the active participation and involvement of students in the educational process. Rather than remaining with Piagetian concepts of stages which are increasingly questioned, studies of political socialization should use information-processing theories in cognitive psychology and focus on processes such as cognitive restructuring.

Using Schemata as Cognitive Outcomes in Socialization Research

Two kinds of schemata will be highlighted in this chapter, event schemata or representations (covered in this section) and schemata of social institutions derived from hypothetical problem-solving situations (covered in the next section).

Event representations, describing sequences of actions, are of particular importance in understanding political socialization. The notion of "script" is sometimes used to describe an expected sequence of events (e.g., during a visit to a restaurant or a physician's office). It is possible to see political roles, as they are understood by young people as connected with the script for an event (e.g., the policeman's role is to arrest criminals, or the citizen's role is to read the newspaper and then vote).

The previous section documented that young children have vague and poorly structured representations of politics . Some of these ideas are idiosyncratic to an individual, and others are relatively common to groups of children (misconceptions held by many children in a given age range, for example). Young children have vague ideas that political leaders exert power by telling people what to do. They may believe that this influence is exerted personally in a kind of infinite personal chain of command (e.g., the president tells someone, who tells someone, who tells someone else, and so on). For example, the view held by many young children that citizens as individuals can have a direct and immediate influence on government policy (e.g., by calling up the president and telling him what they think) could be interpreted as the child possessing a script for the citizen's efforts at exerting political influence that is personal and does not involve cooperation with groups. Leiser (1983) noted that young Israeli children rely on scripts for activities like shopping when they are asked questions about economics; later these scripts are reorganized into what he called conceptions, which some children can see from the point of view of several actors in an economic interaction.

One function of experience, including classroom experience, is to modify or restructure political, social, and economic scripts, usually in ways that make them more like the event schemata of informed adults. However, new information will not always cause a restructuring of a political schema. Factual information may simply be assimilated into existing schemata without changing them.

The concept of schemata has considerable potential for linking research in political socialization to educational practice. In a review of research on social studies education, Armento (1986) described classrooms as settings in which both students and teachers are active constructors of meaning who cognitively organize incoming stimuli on the basis of prior knowledge and existing values. She draws the following implication: "Any instructional method that increases students' macroprocessing of the content of instruction is apt to improve achievement" (Armento 1986, 946). She continues to note that helpful instructional techniques include those that increase students' image-making, their relation of prior knowledge to new information, or the hierarchical system of interrelationships that they see.

Several recent studies by cognitive psychologists and by researchers specializing in cognitive processing in reading in the social studies content area emphasize the importance of student-elaborated schemata in the process of learning.

In a study by Ohlhausen and Roller (1988) fifth, seventh, and ninth graders were asked to read and underline important information in one of three versions of a social studies passage about an unknown country. The Content and Text Structure Passage included an explicit hierarchical structure in which factual material about geography (location, landforms, and climate) was presented. The Structure Only Passage included the expository text structure and signal sentences for structure but substituted nonsense words for content information. The Content Only Passage included the same factual material but put the sentences in random order. No structuring sentences, such as, "we will first describe the physical geography of Melanesia," were included. As expected, the best performance was by the group given both Content and Text Structure. However, for the two youngest groups the Structure Only Passage (with nonsense words) was easier than the Content Only Passage (with meaningful words but no guides as to how to incorpocate material into structures or schemata). Clues for invoking schemata in interpreting information about other countries are important.

In a second study, Berkowitz (1987) trained students in using the material in texts to generate "graphic maps of concepts " such as nation. Groups trained in this way were compared to groups that studied maps for the concept of nation produced by others and to groups that practiced question answering from the text or that used rereading procedures. On the average a student who generated his or her own graphic representation or schema, even if it was not complete or was not totally accurate, showed a clear and significant advantage in recall over a student who studied "correct" concept maps produced by others or who studied the passage in other ways. This illustrates again the power of an individual's self-generated schemata and the importance of helping students to relate actively what is in a text to their existing schemata.

The approach to understanding developmental change and educational influence illustrated by Armento, Furth, and Connell has not yet been linked effectively to constructs that represent the outcomes of the process. The concept of schema is potentially such a link.

Mapping Schemata Based On Solutions to Hypothetical Problems

A major area of research on cognitive processing has been the construction of models of problem solving. Subjects are asked to think aloud while solving problems in logic or physics, thus allowing the researcher to trace the problem solver's approach to goals and subgoals and the use of rules and justifications for solutions; graphic models can then be built of these cognitive processes.

Voss and his colleagues have analyzed the cognitive processing associated with solving ambiguously structured social science problems by novices and experts. Solutions proposed to these kinds of problems cannot be characterized as correct or incorrect, and there is much less agreement about constraints on operations than there would be in geometry (Voss, Tyler, and Yengo 1983). In analyzing the problem-solving strategies in these think-aloud protocols, the sequence of different elements of the argument (e.g., stating a subproblem, stating a solution, evaluating a solution, stating a fact) is important. Voss notes that experts (professors) spent more time defining a problem and were more attentive to constraints upon specific solutions than novices (undergraduates) were. He argues that the structuring phase, in which an individual sets out goals and reaches into the knowledge base for relevant information, is an important part of the representation of a social science problem.

Although this type of analysis is of potential interest to educators, the method is difficult to use with adolescents or preadolescents whose solutions to problems are often stated in a relatively disorganized way. Further, Voss's method of analysis gives a relatively content-free picture of respondents' thinking, which is not very helpful to educators who are interested in the content as well as the process of problem solving.

To meet some of these difficulties I have recently modified a think-aloud problem-solving technique to collect data on hypothetical international problems. The responses can be represented in graphic models of schemata for the social, political, and economic systems as seen by adolescents. The major elements of these schemata are *actors* in the political system, *actions* in which they can engage, and *constraints* upon their actions. I have tested the feasibility of this methodology by interviewing adolescents participating in an educational program whose aims are to increase the accuracy, complexity, and connections present in social, political, and economic schemata. The remainder of this section presents an example of the use of this think-aloud, problem-solving technique to elicit material for making graphic models of individuals' schemata.

The data were gathered through interviews regarding hypothetical international problems conducted at the Maryland Summer Center for International Studies, a two-week program for gifted and talented Maryland students aged thirteen to seventeen. Following two days of lectures and readings, students were divided into six teams ("Brazil ," "Nigeria," "Mexico, " "the USSR," "France, " and "Japan"). Each team met in its own room which included an IBM computer linked to a central unit. Students on each team sent messages regarding policy and diplomacy to other teams over this computer system. The topics of these online conferences were issues such as North-South relations, human rights, and nuclear arms control. The aims of the program included enhancing the participants' knowledge of other countries and international problems as well as helping them to understand the perspectives of different countries. Given special importance was the aim of enhancing thinking skills, especially as the students discussed with each other the content of messages they planned to send before the computer network was engaged to transmit them.

In my research the following hypothetical question was posed to students on the first day of the session and again ten days later:

> Imagine you are the finance minister of a developing country. The interest payment on your debt to banks in the industrialized countries is due , but there is not enough money in your treasury to pay this debt. What would you do to solve this problem. Just think aloud and say whatever comes to your mind about how you would solve this problem.

Graphic models of responses were constructed for six students assigned to the "Brazilian" team in 1987. To illustrate change , the graphic models drawn to represent pre-session interview responses appeared on the top of the page; post responses appeared on the bottom. In Figure 1, which represents the response of one Maryland adolescent, the triangles represent actors mentioned who might be approached by the finance minister and involved to solve the problem. The most frequently mentioned actors were the banks who held the loans and the governments or economies of the countries where the loans were held.

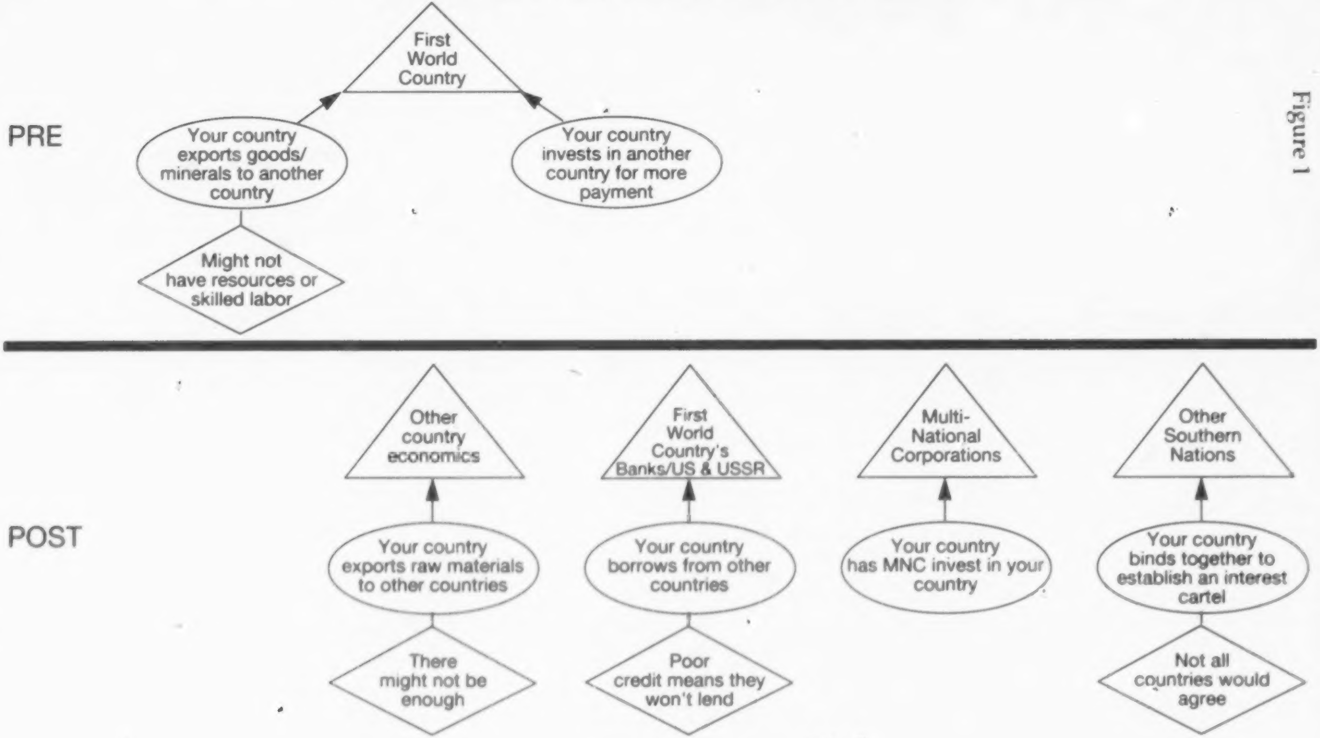
On the average, more actors and more actions were mentioned post-simulation. In particular the students who were playing on this "Brazilian" team were more likely after the simulation to propose getting together with other Southern Hemisphere or debtor nations to put pressure as a group on the developed countries to lighten the debt load. They were also more likely after the simulation to refer to actions that might be taken within their own economy, particularly the institution of austerity measures.

On the graphic displays (illustrated in Figure 1) the ovals are used to represent particular actions that these actors might perform or be asked to perform (e. g., the banks might be asked to reschedule the country's debt). Arrows are used to represent the direction of the requests. Below that, in the diamonds, are represented evaluations or constraints on these actions. No sequence of discussion is indicated in these figures.

Although no two individuals had exactly the same schemata of actors and actions, there was a high degree of similarity between the pre- and

Figure 1

Schemata of Actors, Actions, and Constraints In International Debt Crisis
Pre-Session on Top / Post-Session on Bottom


PRE
First World Country
Your country exports goods/ minerals to another country
Your country invests in another country for more payment
Might not have resources or skilled labor
POST
Other country economics
First World Country's Banks/US & USSR
Multi-National Corporations
Other Southern Nations
Your country exports raw materials to other countries
Your country borrows from other countries
Your country has MNC invest in your country
Your country binds together to establish an interest cartel
There might not be enough
Poor credit means they won't lend
Not all countries would agree

post-session interviews with a given individual. This suggests that there are substantial and relatively stable individual differences in these schemata. The schemata were more complex after the simulation experience for four of the six "Brazilian" team members (although one was only marginally different); in one case the level of complexity was almost exactly the same; in one case the schema was less complex. The schema of the international economic system for the individual whose response is illustrated in Figure 1 is very rudimentary at the pre-session interview. The only actions mentioned have to do with investment in another country's economy. After the simulation multinational corporations, lending institutions in other countries, and other Southern Hemisphere nations were mentioned in addition to another country's economy. The constraints listed were relatively rudimentary.

This figure has been presented as an example of a modeling technique that represents the complexity of actors and potential interactions in the international economic system . A schema is more complex when it involves a large number of potential actors, who are each able to perform a varied set of actions. Another aspect of schema complexity is the inclusion of relevant constraints upon actions and the recognition of connections between the potential actions performed by different actors. Only two of the six Maryland students playing on the "Brazilian" team connected actions of one actor with those of other actors (or with the system as a whole).

The use of a think-aloud interview responding to a hypothetical problem to produce graphic models shows considerable promise as a way to represent individual differences in the schemata of actors and actions in the international system, continuity over time in those schemata, and changes in the complexity of those schemata. One way of defining what it means for someone to have a complex concept of a political or economic system is to say that the individual has a schema or conceptual network for connecting a variety of relevant actors, their actions, and constraints in a particular domain. Second , these displays show cognitive restructuring as a movement from unconnected and unconstrained actions to connected and constrained actions. Third, the approach can be related to existing recent research on cognitive approaches to education, such as those described by Armento (1986).

As further evidence for the appropriateness of schemata in studying the outcomes of political socialization or civic education, the research conducted by Adelson and his colleagues more than twenty years ago will be reconceptualized in this framework. In their research, students were presented with the hypothetical situation of a group of individuals marooned on a Pacific island and required to solve a variety of problems.

The eleven-year-olds in their sample pieced together answers from relatively disconnected pieces of information and opinion. Older students gave answers that were much more integrated. There were substantial contrasts between the responses of eleven- or thirteen-year-olds and those of fifteen-year-olds. The responses of eighteen-year-olds were elaborations on the types of responses given by fifteen-year-olds.

Gallatin describes the following levels of political thinking in the Adelson data:

> **Level 1**—the confused, simplistic, punitive, or concretely pragmatic response;
>
> **Level 2**—transition responses, answers that express the rudiments of a political concept but remain somewhat fragmentary or personalized;
>
> **Level 3**—conceptual response, answers that are phrased in terms of a political principle or ideal (1980, 352).

Level 3 responses to hypothetical dilemmas (such as deciding the benefits of education or public health measures such as smallpox immunization) showed the ability to "speak from a coherent view of the political order" and to refer to a "sense of community and the social contract" (Adelson et al. 1966, 297; Gallatin 1976).

In the framework proposed in this chapter, these findings could be conceptualized as indicating that the older students possessed more complex schemata for the political system and political community that involved more reciprocity and more explicit constraints on actions. Adelson also noted that older students were able to relate social institutions both to the community as a whole and to the individual; in the schemata framework that means an expansion of the potential political actors to include institutions and their representatives as well as private individuals. Older students, according to Gallatin and Adelson, were able to trace the long-range consequences of various actions both for the political community as a whole and for the individual. In this framework, that means that they were able to see future as well as present constraints. Further, for the older respondents, these constraints originated not only in the individual but in the community at large; there were more connections seen and more recognitions of the reciprocity of actions between individuals and government, meaning fewer unilateral actions by government.

In summary, the schemata framework provides a way of graphically operationalizing the difference between a diffuse approach, which does not make connections, and one that is phrased in terms of connected political principles, concepts, and images. The research of Berti and Bombi (1988) discussed in a previous section would also lend itself to schema analysis. The child's ability to distinguish actors and the actions they perform in the economic system (owner from boss, seller from producer) could be graphed using this methodology. Further, they described the young child's unconnected views of aspects of economic activity that later became connected in a system.

There are difficulties with the use of hypothetical problems to elicit the responses that are used in schema-mapping. There may be particular characteristics of the problem situation posed which influence the response.

Psychologists are understandably wary of building a theory or an educational approach on responses to a single hypothetical situation or dilemma. The finance minister dilemma used as an example in this chapter may only be appropriate for students who already have high international awareness.

The connection between these cognitive responses and important attitudinal outcomes of civic education is being explored. One possibility is to think of each actor and action in the schema map as having associated with it an attitudinal "charge," either positive or negative. If one asked adolescents to deal with hypothetical dilemmas about which they felt strongly, such as apartheid or hostage taking, one could ask about positive or negative attitudes related to each proposed actor and action. A second way of relating schemata to attitudes is proposed by Weinreich-Haste (1986). Affective responses may be aroused in a crisis situation (e.g., experiencing fear of a nuclear war). The individual may then seek schemata to deal cognitively with that affect and to channel it into behavior or action. A third alternative is to inquire how the student sees himself or herself as a political actor, what actions are possible or probable, what constraints exist, and what feelings or motivations are associated with those actions.

Although responses such as think-aloud protocols are time consuming to collect and score, they are also very informative concerning the way in which students are actually receiving the information presented to them in the classroom. This represents a new methodology for political socialization research that can be linked to citizenship education.

Conclusions

This chapter has traced political socialization research of several types—that which has dealt with attitudes, with discrete knowledge elements, with perceptions or images, and with developmental stages. The reasons why this research has failed to have a significant impact upon civic education have been noted. The final section of the chapter presented a reconceptualization of this research area based on the concept of schemata within the specific domain of politics. It is argued that such a conceptualization has a number of advantages if one hopes to maximize the usefulness of research.

First, if one conceptualizes political socialization and citizenship education as processes that result in increasingly complex schemata of the political or economic system, the difficulty of producing high levels of political knowledge among young people becomes more apparent. The school curriculum presents information in a way that does not allow the student to relate it to existing schemata and, when appropriate, to restructure them. Rather, knowledge is presented in a way that results in most students accumulating unrelated pieces of information encoded in memory in a piecemeal or disconnected fashion. This is a very inefficient method of storing information. Further, teachers have little opportunity or training to prepare them to assess the schemata relating to the perception of politics with which students enter the classroom. Without this, assessment instruction cannot be tailored to those conceptions or misconceptions.

Second, this review has indicated that there are some domains of general cognitive characteristics that need to be taken into account in curricular formulations. Many early adolescents are still characterized by difficulties in decentering (that is, focusing on things outside their own experience), difficulties in perceiving reciprocity (that is, seeing the perspective of others and the need for give and take of opinions), and difficulties in coordinating different parts of their schemata (that is, seeing connections between the actions of political leaders and the actions of citizens, or between the production and distribution systems).

Third, this conceptualization helps account for the results of studies that indicate that students' active involvement in grappling with controversial issues and constructing and defending their own positions have positive effects on civic knowledge. This type of classroom experience stimulates the students to restructure their schemata of the economic and political system, just as Socratic dialogue has been found to aid in the restructuring of children's astronomical views.

Finally, the conceptualization of social or political schema, when linked with recent work on reading, suggests the possibility of dealing explicitly with students' concept maps as part of instructional methods. Asking students to construct and discuss concept maps or diagrams of political actors and actions may be a useful tool for increasing the complexity of their schemata. Such methods would also include cognitive strategy training to promote active processing of material (Cornbleth 1985; Armento 1986). A citizenship education program might be organized around concept maps of increasing complexity which also made students' attitudes about their own participation as political actors a subject of discussion.

New attention is being given to political socialization research. If this work can include a study of young people's schemata or conceptual networks, it is more likely to be useful in improving citizenship education than it has been in the past.

Notes

1. Orit Ichilov has edited a book based on a conference held in Israel in 1987 entitled *Political Socialization and Citizenship Education,* which will be published in 1989 by Teachers College Press. Gary Allen has edited the papers from a symposium presented in 1987 at the Society for Research in Child Development that will appear as a special section in the periodical *Human Development* in 1989.

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Economic Socialization

Beverly Armento

Just what is economic socialization? The word "socialization" itself suggests "the entire set of events and processes by which children acquire the beliefs and behaviors of the particular society and the sub-groups into which they are born" (Liebert, Wicks-Nelson, and Kail 1986, 304).

What beliefs and behaviors are ideally acquired in a democratic society such as ours? Which of these beliefs and behaviors are "economic"?

Dewey's vision (Dewey 1944, 99) of the citizen in a democratic society was one of an interested and active participant in the society, one who is willing and able to effect necessary institutional and social changes. In this paper, we are concerned with the particular aspects of the social world that have to do with economic choices and institutions. Hence, the economic socialization question becomes: What are the beliefs and behaviors one acquires and needs in order to be an effective citizen in the economic contexts of one's life?

Economics has to do with valued choices and transactions that individuals and groups make regarding the alternative uses of scarce resources. What are the various roles individuals play in their personal choices, or in the microeconomic context? And, what are the roles and civic tasks persons play in the more socially oriented macroeconomic context? From an examination of these roles, one can infer the beliefs and behaviors that are used.

Economic Roles in the Personal Context

The individual (or small group: family, peer group, for example) is the primary decision-making unit in the personal economic context. The individual, guided by personal goals, beliefs, and values, acts daily—and in many ways—with economic tasks, events, and problems. In reality, we may not think of these activities as "economic"—but rather as the everyday, common tasks of working, buying, selling, exchanging, and saving.

In the more personal context of life, an individual, first and perhaps foremost, is an owner and caretaker of a most precious resource—oneself and one's energy, abilities, time, and labor. As a nurturer of this human resource, one invests in oneself through education, training, and other activities. Through one's work, occupation, or career, a person ideally strives for intrinsic satisfaction as well as for the goods and services needed for survival. In addition to serving as a producer through one's work, one is also a consumer of goods and services, and, as such, makes decisions regarding the spending, saving, and/or investing of one's resources.

While these are often thought of as adult economic tasks, fundamental socialization activities occur early in life that mediate one's ability to perform these tasks with ease, success, gratification, and with a sense of personal and civic responsibility during adolescence and in later adulthood. What are the aspects of one's socio-emotional-cognitive development that influence attitudes and behavior in the personal economic context of life? Among these are:

- The development of decision-making/problem-solving skills, which enable one to apply analytic and reflective processes to personal economic problems;
- The development of empathy and perspective-taking behaviors, which enable individuals to identify with others in the society and in the world, and to understand issues from the view of the other;
- The development of achievement motivation or personal striving behaviors, which enable one to set goals and to make progress toward them;
- The development of a sense of self/self-worth/self-image, which enables one to act confidently and positively;
- The development of positive expectations for the outcomes of one's behavior and healthy explanations for one's successes and failures, which enable involvement in economic roles;
- The development of one's personal interests and goals;
- The development of conceptual knowledge about one's economic world and the ability to retrieve, comprehend, assess, and synthesize information;
- The development of work values; and
- The development of imagination, creativity, and flexibility, which inform problem solving and the identification of new solutions.

Economic Roles in the Social Context

The individual, in collaboration with others in a neighborhood, community, nation, or international community, is the basic decision-making unit for economic problems occurring in the social context of life. What civic tasks are demanded of the individual, and what economic roles does the person play? The individual, as part of a group in a democracy, acts to establish economic goals (for the community, nation, etc.) and to monitor the group's progress toward those goals by assessing current events and issues and by regulating the group's actions when necessary. The individual in groups also acts as a caretaker and a preserver of community resources and continually engages in decisions on the alternative uses of these collectively owned resources. The economic citizen willingly and actively participates in the resolution of economic issues in various ways at the local, national, and international levels.

What are the aspects of one's socio-emotional-cognitive development that influence attitudes and behavior in this social-economic context of life? Among these are:

- The development of an interest, awareness, and conceptual knowledge of economic events and issues;
- The development of interactive/cooperative and analytical problem-solving/decision-making skills;
- The development of moral perspectives and skills, including those of role-taking or of being able to assess issues from other perspectives;
- The development of attitudes of economic/political empowerment or expectations that one's actions prompt changes, and that the political-economic system is responsive to individuals and to groups; and
- The development of imagination and creativity, which aid in the identification of new alternatives and of better solutions to difficult problems.

What do we know about the development of these socio-emotional-cognitive factors in the context of one's economic socialization? What are young adolescents like—in terms of these abilities, attitudes, and knowledge? What implications might we draw from the literature to inform curriculum development in citizenship education?

A Perspective on Economic Socialization

Economic socialization is a lifelong, complex, interactional, and multidisciplinary set of processes. It has to do not only with the development of the social, emotional, and cognitive factors identified already in this paper, but also with the development of ideological beliefs about our own economic system and that of other societies and about our individual roles within the economy. Some of these ideological, cognitive, emotional elements result from direct instruction, purposeful shaping, or carefully selected modeling of the "proper" beliefs and behaviors. However, the factors that influence socialization may also be less direct—actually, they may be hidden or unconscious or perhaps unintended messages or actions by significant others or by aspects of the society.

Parents, the family, peers, teachers, the media, the formal and informal curricula and an endless array of real and/or imaginary people—all are socializing agents. But, socialization is not a unidirectional process: not only do significant others influence children, but children and youth in turn influence others. In other words, there is a reciprocal or transactional relationship between and among the actors in the socialization process. In addition, the child is associated with and influenced by many overlapping units: the national and international cultures, one or more ethnic groups, the local culture, and socioeconomic group(s) (Bronfenbrenner 1979). Additionally, the child is not a passive recipient of messages from the society—but, rather, actively interacts with the messages, constructing new knowledge as a function of his or her prior experiences, evolving value and belief base, and cognitive capacities at any given time.

The social-political-economic context is itself dynamic and continually changing; as such, it provides an altered interactive milieu for different generations of young people. Today, there are significant changes in the social context that not only provide different socialization messages from those of a generation ago, but also require different role adaptations for involvement and participation as a citizen in the economic world. For example, there are demographic changes in family structure, including decreases in the birth rate in the U.S. and increases in the number and percentages of women in the labor force. Changes in the legal structure have minimized discrimination in many employment areas; shifts in the manufacturing/technological/agricultural profile in this and in other countries have created new issues and altered economic role expectations for the young. And, there are changes in the ideological and pragmatic economic structures of many nations as groups attempt to better adjust their economic reality to their goals and beliefs. All of these factors influence the economic socialization of young people growing up at any given period of time.

While the study of political socialization is a fairly well-established and well-documented field of inquiry, that of economic socialization is not. In real life, it is difficult to separate the study of economics from that of politics—and most civic issues and aspects of life contain economic as well as political content and perspectives. Certainly some of the same socializing factors contribute to the development of economic knowledge and beliefs as to that of political ideas and abilities.

Yet, we have segmented and compartmentalized research on political and economic socialization. In addition, we have traditionally (at least in the past fifty years) separated these fields for instructional purposes. One might ask why this has occurred, and if this research and pedagogical isolation of economics from political science is desirable for the future.

Studies of economic socialization should contribute to understanding *why* and *how* certain attitudes and behaviors develop in individuals, not merely document what these patterns and differences are. Much of the current research is of a descriptive, psychological nature. This is a good beginning—but consideration must also be given to the contextual factors that influence the development of certain psychological attributes if we are to understand the causal relationships in economic socialization.

Let us turn now to some of the research on the economic socialization of individuals in the personal context of their lives.

Economic Socialization in the Personal Context: In Search of a Paradigm

How, from whom, and in what ways do people learn the economic knowledge, skills, and beliefs they use in their everyday lives? Currently, no field of inquiry exists to investigate this question systematically, and no coherent body of literature called "economic socialization" literature exists. Neither are there theoretical perspectives to guide such a proposed field of inquiry. What do exist are studies that provide clues and possible directions for work in theory building: the work on the role of the family from social psychologists studying child development or the social structure of families; the research on work from vocational psychologists; and the research on schools and society from the work of anthropologists or political scientists.

Most of the literature which might contribute to our understanding of economic socialization factors that prepare young people for personal economic choices has to do with the topic of work: attitudes about work; vocational/career choices; work skills; perceptions about education and work; and factors influencing gender, ethnic, and socioeconomic differences in a person's beliefs about work. The family, school, and society in general are often examined for causal relationships to adolescent beliefs about work and work habits.

The relationship between education and one's status and income has been reemphasized lately through such reports as *A Nation at Risk* by the National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983). In a study of more than 300 ninth graders and more than 270 twelfth graders from two high schools—one situated in a middle- to upper-middle-class professional setting, and the other in a lower-middle to middle-class setting—Nicholls, Patashnick, and Nolen (1985) recently found consistent but disturbing patterns in high school students' views about what the aims of education should be and about their own personal goals in school. Of four major purposes of schooling (wealth and status, commitment to society, understanding the world, and achievement motivation), those who chose wealth and status as the primary orientation were more likely to be academically alienated; in addition, they lacked a commitment to learning and had little satisfaction with school learning and held fewer plans to attend college. Belief that success in the world depends on beating or surpassing others, impressing the "right people" and so on, was associated with (a) the view that school should help one gain wealth and status; and (b) personal goals in the classroom of avoiding work, easy success without effort, and on demonstrating high ability.

This research does not explore the causal factors underlying such belief patterns: where did these patterns originate, and how do they guide behavior? There is a considerable body of literature on the role of the family in the development of work-related beliefs and choices; much of this work considers the changing social context of the family as an important factor in the economic socialization of adolescents with regard to their work-related beliefs and choices. A highlight of this research follows.

The Family and Work

A major societal change over the past twenty years has been the increasing participation of women in the outside-of-home labor force. What are the effects of maternal employment on adolescent beliefs and choices regarding work? According to Vondracek and Lerner (1982, 611), the effects seem to be most pronounced in regard to the daughters of employed mothers:

> The most consistent and well-documented correlate of career orientation and departure from traditional feminine roles is maternal employment during childhood and adolescence. Daughters of employed mothers (i.e., mothers who were employed during some period of the daughter's childhood or adolescence) more often aspire to a career outside the home (Almquist and Angrist 1971; Hoffman 1974, 1979; Stein 1973); get better grades in school (Nichols and Schauffer 1975); and aspire to more advanced education (Hoffman 1974; Stein 1973).

There are some data to suggest that children of employed mothers have more egalitarian sex-role concepts than do children of non-employed-outside-of-the-home mothers (Gold and Andres 1978). Girls seem to benefit from independence training and the modeling of achievement striving that a working mother provides. Girls of working mothers also tend to be more outgoing, independent, more highly motivated, and tend to score higher on achievement tests than do girls of nonworking (outside of the home) mothers (Hoffman 1979). Farel's (1980) study of kindergarten children and their mothers raises the issue and relevance of a mother's desire to work: she found that children of mothers whose attitudes toward work and work behavior were congruent (i.e., wanted to work and were working or did not want to work and were not working) scored significantly higher on several measures of adjustment and competence than did children of mothers whose behavior and attitudes were not congruent. Farel's study presents a more comprehensive way to examine the effects of family structure on child socialization, and this study provides clues for adolescent studies.

Mothers who work for wages also tend to encourage in their children those behaviors they perceive as adaptive in their own jobs. For example, if good grammar and certain social skills are important for the mother in her job, then she will tend to model and emphasize these behaviors for her children (Piotrokowski and Katz 1982).

Pervasive and persistent traditional sex-role expectations were found by Peterson, Rollins, Thomas, and Heaps (1982) in their study of ninety-six families, each having both a male and a female adolescent. Results of their study indicate that family decisions favor the career goals of adolescent males over adolescent females by a four-to-one ratio. That is, the differential preference given to adolescents' goals seems to be determined by the adolescents' gender. This variable retained its explanatory value despite analyses for the effects of alternative variables such as the employment status of mothers, education or income of fathers, and whether the daughters desired an occupational or homemaking career. Fathers also tended to prefer domestic goals for their daughters more than the adolescent females chose these goals for themselves.

Family beliefs may influence role expectations for career choices as well as other aspects of civic behavior. For example, Block (1973) shows that at least one measure of psychosocial functioning, the presence of a principled level of moral learning, is associated with less traditional sex-role definitions. That is, the flexibility associated with less rigid gender roles may also enable greater role-taking ability on other issues.

Society and Work-related Roles/Expectations

If one views gender-related economic roles as adaptive to sociocultural changes, then one would expect to find role expectations for one's work changing as the society evolves. In Block's (1973) study of six countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, England, and the United States), she found marked cross cultural consistency in sex-role economic expectations within each culture. Of the university students who comprised Block's sample, in four out of six cultural groups, both males and females within and across cultures agreed that males are stronger than females in being practical, shrewd, assertive, competitive, critical, and self-controlled. In at least four of the six cultural groups, males and females within and across cultures agreed that females are stronger than males in being loving, affectionate, impulsive, sympathetic, and generous.

In the U.S. sample, Block (1973) reported that students' ratings of parental child-rearing practices differed from those of students in the European samples. In the U.S., significantly greater emphasis was placed on early and clear sex typing and on competitive achievement, and less importance was placed on the control of aggression in males. Block explains these findings in the context of sociocultural forces acting in the various societies. The U.S. is the "most capitalistic" of the countries in this sample, and one would expect to find childrearing practices (socialization) to be reflective of the adaptive needs of the socio-cultural-historical pressures for role performance in the society.

Kandel and Lesser's study (1972) of adolescents in the United States and Denmark also illuminates within-culture consistency and between-culture differences on some factors that have relevance for economic socialization. One major difference between American and Danish values is associated with achievement: Americans emphasize achievement more than do Danes. Americans emphasize "getting somewhere, establishing oneself, and thus gaining the respect of the community." A much larger percentage of American than Danish parents and adolescents emphasize being a leader, earning money, and having a good reputation. In addition, the majority of American parents and adolescents believe that the best way to get ahead in life is to work hard, a belief maintained only by a very small minority of Danes, who, in contrast, emphasize getting along with others as the best way to get ahead in life.

Reminiscent of the Nicholls, Patashnick, and Nolen study cited earlier, Kandel and Lesser also found that in the U.S. parents and adolescents are less concerned with the intrinsic gratification of doing satisfying work than they are with the extrinsic rewards of work. This attitude also is true for the American adolescents in this study, in terms of academic concerns. That is, American high school students want good grades in order to get the rewards these grades bring, i.e., admission to college and to a desirable career (Kandel and Lesser 1972).

Does this relationship between expectations of good grades in school and "success" in the world of work hold for all groups in our society? Do all adolescents strive for academic achievement? Obviously not. The dropout rates, especially in major urban areas of the U.S., approximate 20 to 40-plus percent, with large percentages of these students coming from minority groups. Achievement scores by blacks and other minority groups have historically been lower than have those for whites. So called "solutions" have traditionally attempted to "fix the students" or "fix the schools."

John Ogbu, an anthropologist from Nigeria, offers an alternative perspective on this issue in his book, *Minority Education and Caste* (1978). Ogbu's argument is structural rather than psychological: he proposes that equal educational opportunity will be effective only if there is a comparable post-educational opportunity to compete for adult roles on equal terms.

> Specifically, the ability of a group of people to maximize their cognitive and academic skills depends on the opportunity they have to use these skills in the world of work. In a technological and money-oriented society like the United States, a lack of opportunity to perform highly skilled jobs stunts the development of such skills. Furthermore, the absence of such an opportunity for any group deprives its members of their sense of self worth, frustrates their efforts to improve themselves, and ruins their ability to maintain normal family life and raise their children adequately. Eliminating the job ceiling will improve the economic status of black families, reduce the blight and social pathologies of their communities, improve their general health and nutritional level, increase their belief that they can succeed in American society by individual initiative and hard work, enable them to raise their children to be more successful in school, and enable black children to develop more fully those skills needed for school learning (Ogbu 1978, 364).

Apart from this, Ogbu suggests there is still a need to study and eliminate the many subtle ways in which schools exclude minority groups from effective education.

Schools and Work

Undoubtedly teachers, the overt curriculum, and the hidden messages of school organization and the curriculum provide economic socializing messages for children about the nature of work and their roles within the economy. Using ethnographic techniques of participant observation and interview, Anyon (1980) studied pedagogical and pupil evaluation techniques in five elementary schools—each situated in a different socio-economic setting—as she examined classrooms in light of a theoretical approach to social class. Anyon defines one's social class as the way the person relates to the process in society by which goods, services, and culture are produced. Through one's work, one has a relationship to the system of ownership, to other people (at work and in society), and to the content and process of one's own productive activity (Anyon 1980, 68).

In her observations, Anyon asks: What potential relationships to the system of ownership, to authority and control, and to their own productive activity are being developed in children in each school? And, what economically relevant knowledge, skills, and predispositions are being transmitted in each classroom?

Anyon finds distinct differences in the lives of teachers and students in the various fifth-grade classes. On the basis of these differences, Anyon concludes that children in the "working class" school are developing a potential conflict relationship with capital: their rote school work is appropriate for future wage labor that is mechanical and routine; the children, though, are developing abilities and skills of resistance, which are ultimately debilitating, Anyon proposes, not only as they inhibit current learning but also future productivity. In the "executive elite" school, by contrast, students are granted a great deal of personal independence in the classroom and have daily opportunities to learn and utilize intellectually and socially prestigious knowledge and skills. "Their schooling is helping them to develop the abilities necessary for ownership and control of physical capital and the means of production in society" (Anyon 1980, 89).

Closing Comments

The studies presented in this section are included to help raise questions about the nature of economic socialization of young people. What are the various outcomes of economic socialization? What knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values are developed? What aspects and agents of society act in the socialization process? And in what overt and covert ways does this process occur? What messages are transmitted consciously and unconsciously to young people? And, what ideological messages are promoted? Also, what relationships are there between the knowledge, skills, and values one develops and uses in one's personal economic life and those used in the civic-economic context of life?

To answer these questions, theoretical constructs and empirical research are needed. These advances should aid in our understanding of ourselves as a society and should inform us as we ask: What are our goals for the economic socialization of young people? And, are our practices congruent with these goals?

Economic Socialization in the Civic Content: In Search of a Paradigm

Young adolescents are developing new awarenesses of social institutions and new interests in the workings of the society at large. They have had countless economic experiences and have developed ideas about the ways our own economy works; they are also developing ideas about right and wrong and are beginning to articulate their own positions on social-economic issues. The transition to adolescence requires a perspective on collective social realities, and the social-economic and legal/political systems become matters of major concern to the young adolescent.

What do we know about the development of adolescent cognition about the social-economic world? How does one's experience result in knowledge? How does knowledge relate to thinking and problem solving on economic/political issues? And, what is the relationship of moral cognition to moral action on economic/political problems? Again, there is no widely-accepted coherent theoretical explanation for integrating these cognitive and moral developmental, social problem solving, and social action constructs.

There are, however, some recent theoretical efforts to link certain of these components in new, integrated, and promising ways (Blasi 1980; Fischer 1980). And, there is a considerable body of cognitive and moral developmental literature that may help us understand some aspects of economic thought and behavior. There even is some economics-specific empirical work to draw on in this area, although the research on adolescent economic thought and problem solving is seriously limited.

Among those social-emotional-cognitive factors identified as important for economic-civic behavior are civic action, role taking, economic knowledge development, and problem-solving skills. While these are not the only important factors, they are among the most important, and they are also among the most commonly investigated.

Civic Action

By adolescence, most young people have shifted from concrete to formal operational cognitive thought (Inhelder and Piaget 1958) and to a more autonomous level of morality (Kohlberg 1976). According to these stage theories of development, several factors emerge during adolescence that enable students to better understand and to be more willing to act upon issues in the social-political-economic world (Chandler and Boyes 1982; Neimark 1982). Merelman (1971) proposes two moral developmental and four cognitive developmental factors integral to policy thinking and to civic action that are important components of adolescent growth:

1. The development of a relativistic sense of morality, which leads the adolescent to question the existing social order and which may lead to political social action;
2. The development of respect for the importance of social organization, which helps the adolescent realize that one source of personal unhappiness may lie in the social system itself—beyond any one individual's control. This, too, may lead the adolescent into political-economic activity intended to change the social system;

3. The growth of causal understanding. By early adolescence, one normally develops the capacity to connect chains of events in a logical manner (Flavell 1977; Sedlak and Kurtz 1981). Erwin and Kuhn (1979) report that no children younger than those in eighth grade were able to recognize the idea that human action could be determined by more than a single causal factor. This ability means that the adolescent can develop reasonable explanations for events and can realize that events can be controlled by human behavior;
4. The development of hypothetical thought occurs during adolescence and is also thought to be a precursor to political action. Through hypothetical thought, adolescents can imagine a socioeconomic world constructed differently from the existing one—and can actively engage in "If . . . then" thinking sequences. Being able to imagine how things might be changed may act as a stimulus for political action;
5. The development of role-taking skills that enable the adolescent to identify with others and to see issues from the perspective of other points of view (Higgins 1980; Kurdek 1978);
6. The development of better understanding of the linkage of interrelationships between and among events within the social-economic system. This ability allows adolescents to see how events affect themselves as well as other persons (Merelman 1971).

The fact that these cognitive and moral factors are maturing during adolescence and the hypothesis that these factors *should* enable the young person to engage in active civic behavior (on economic issues) may be a necessary but not sufficient explanation of economic civic behavior. While the intellectual tools may be ready, whether adolescents are actively interested in socioeconomic problems and whether they actually become actively involved in some way is probably a function of such other factors as the values for civic involvement held by the adolescent's family and peer group, the opportunities for involvement open to the student, and the various combinations of psychodynamic and personal factors that influence the adolescent's choices of conduct in the world (Merelman 1971).

In an empirical test of his proposed model, Merelman (1971) surveyed the attitudes of forty middle class eighth- and twelfth-grade students on the economic topic of poverty. He found that almost all of the students thought that poverty was "wrong" and that it should be "corrected." The younger students thought the best "correction" was through gift-giving to the poor, while the older students could identify longer-range political solutions. The younger students could see little or no relationship between poverty and themselves while the older students felt that poverty had direct consequences for everyone in society. Regardless of age, some of the adolescents could identify multiple causes of poverty and multiple effects, and some could apply hypothetical thinking and imagine a world without poverty.

Three important questions must be addressed: (1) How generalizable are the formal operational abilities to individual adolescents? (2) What role might task-specific knowledge (in this case, about poverty) play in the understanding and analysis of economic issues? and (3) What role does perspective-taking ability play in the analysis of economic topics (such as poverty)?

On the first question, within Piaget's framework, cognitive development virtually ends with formal operations. It is generally assumed that adolescents have fully achieved formal operations, and there is nothing more to do but to extend their thinking to new content areas (Piaget 1972). While this seems to be a less than satisfactory explanation, there have been no major alternative explanations that might provide a refinement of formal operational thinking. In addition, there is sufficient documentation to note a wide range of within-age cognitive variation (Barenboim 1977; Peel 1971; Turiel 1983). Thus, one's ability to make blanket descriptions of the adolescent population or of any particular individual's cognitive capabilities on the basis of this theory alone is limited. Fischer (1980) proposes that many of the age differences arise because different tasks (the analysis of different social-economic issues, for example) require different levels of abstraction and students may or may not have had the prior experiences, the knowledge, and the skills necessary to deal with such abstractions.

Let us take a closer look at the other two questions raised here—those having to do with role taking and the role of economic knowledge in problem solving.

Role Taking

Conflict and issue resolution in a multivalue society demands complex cognitive analysis. In order to fully understand and then analyze most economic-political problems, the individual must be able to comprehend the problems from the value positions of other groups that oppose or support one's own position (Oliver 1968). The ability of social perspective taking or role taking has long been viewed as a goal of social studies education and as an integral part of issue analysis. Role taking is the cognitive realization of another's point of view or the ability to place "yourself in someone else's shoes."

The question is: Is role taking an ability in its own right, which follows its own developmental path, as many developmental psychologists think, beginning with an "egocentric viewpoint" and progressing to the stage of social and conventional system role taking (Piaget 1972; Selman 1976)? Or, is role taking a multidimensional construct one uses throughout life that draws upon social information normally embedded within specific social tasks? The weight of the empirical evidence supports this latter view. That is, role taking is a frequently used process of considering perspectives other than one's own, is highly dependent on specific knowledge, and is not a general ability that children simply "acquire without instruction."

What, then, are the various facets of perspective taking? (1) The ability to consider multiple elements in a problem; (2) the ability to "control the self" and the self's own perspective when considering a problem (Higgins 1980); and (3) the various ways of and the skills involved in the processing of information while making role-taking inferences (Kurdek 1978).

There are two major implications of this view on role taking for curriculum development:

1. How well one performs role taking on any given occasion is a function of the particular conceptual abilities and knowledge related to the task or issue at hand rather than related to a general perspective-taking competence. Social-economic perspective taking is thus determined by the degree of knowledge of the issues involved in the economic problem, the degree of knowledge of persons or roles one needs to take and the various beliefs associated with those roles, and knowledge of self and one's own perspective on the issue. One improves in role taking, then, as one's knowledge of situations and one's conceptual knowledge improves. Therefore, the development of knowledge about particular economic issues is important to role taking effectiveness.
2. Role-taking development should be viewed as continuous. The qualitative changes that occur do so with respect to other conceptual achievements. Developmental changes in role taking are more on the order of how often and how comprehensively one considers the perspective of others. Therefore, practice with role taking on a range of economic issues is important.

These two implications suggest a very different curricular approach than is currently available. That is, if we were serious about developing problem-solving abilities and the necessary role-taking skills, we would provide, in a coherent, increasingly more sophisticated manner, in-depth social-economic problems and case studies for students to explore and analyze. Students would develop enough specific knowledge about particular problems that they would become articulate about the various perspectives on the issue. They could then better assess complex economic problems from a range of perspectives, and would have an indepth awareness of the causal and relational elements of particular problems.

Economic Knowledge

Economic knowledge is important for role taking and therefore for civic analysis of economic issues. What do we know about the development of economic knowledge by young students?

Much of the work on the identification of the economic content of children's thought is focused on young children. The topic of children's ideas about money seems to dominate the early literature, which, for the most part is theoretical and probes only the surface of knowledge (Armento 1986b).

The work of Hans Furth (1980) provides a theoretical context within which to frame some of the studies that offer little explanatory value themselves. Furth, a student of Piaget, interviewed 195 children, ages five to eleven, from southern England on economic and other societal topics. From the responses, Furth developed a model proposing the developmental pattern youngsters demonstrate in their ideas about the (economic) social system:

Stage I:	Personalistic Elaborations and Absence of Interpretive System.
Stage II:	Understanding of First-Order Societal Functions.
Stage III:	Part Systems in Conflict.
Stage IV:	A Concrete Systematic Framework.

The youngest children in Furth's study (1980), ages five to six, showed a great deal of playfulness and inventiveness in their "make-believe-like" explanations of the source of money. They thought that the change you received from your purchases at a store was the primary source of money. That is, "you go to a store to get money." In 1988, children at this age in the U.S. think that money comes from banking machines.

Children of approximately six to eight years of age demonstrated Furth's second stage of thought, the understanding of first order societal functions. That is, they could identify the role of money as a means of exchange, but had no idea what happened to the money once the shopkeeper took it. These young children were also playful with their stories about money.

By Stage III, though, this playful attitude seemed to recede as children began to see inconsistencies in their thinking. By ages eight to ten, most of the children were able to go beyond a surface explanation of the role of money, but they were unable to identify multiple reasons or causes for events.

The oldest children in Furth's study, ages nine to eleven—the preadolescents—demonstrated responses indicative of the proposed fourth stage, that of a concrete systematic framework. These children were the most reflective and logical in their descriptions and interpretations of social events, yet their explanations were highly concrete and limited by their experiences. Children at this fourth stage of social thought fully understood the role of money in exchange and the idea of production costs and profit, but had little understanding of the role of government in the economy or of the "macro" economy at all (Furth 1980).

While Furth did not include young adolescents in this study, we know from other research that at the next level of sophistication, young people are able to assume a more symbolic form of thought. That is, they become less dependent on concrete experiences as the basis of thought and can make abstractions based on verbal experiences. While this more formal thought by the emerging adolescent is qualitatively different from that of the concrete operational child, the thought of the adolescent is based upon and is derived from concrete operations. This notion has curriculum implications for young adolescents, especially for those students who have a weak experiential base as well as for those who demonstrate less than formal operational thought for economic topics and issues: that is, instruction should begin with and build upon concrete and visual representations of the economic topics/concepts/issues under discussion in order to promote a maximum level of comprehension and eventual analysis of these ideas.

In other words, instruction should begin with examples that are familiar to students, and should be constructed in ways that call upon the learner to relate what she/he knows to the new ideas. The instruction should also help students visualize the new information, to do such concrete acts as putting the new knowledge in their own words, charting the new ideas to illuminate relationships between ideas, and actually drawing pictorial or graphic representations of the new ideas. These activities enable learners to get at the meaning of the new knowledge and to build conceptual patterns. This, in turn, facilitates the meaningful storage of ideas in memory and then, the retrieval of this knowledge when needed.

In studies by Schug (1981) and Schug and Birkey (1985), patterns of economic thought were found that are compatible with the Furth and Piaget proposed stages of social thought. In the Schug and Birkey study (1985), young children were interviewed on the economic concepts of scarcity, choice, opportunity cost, and monetary value.

In Armento's study of 355 children ages three to sixteen (1982), most children ages five to seven recognized and could respond logically to economic questions such as "How do you make decisions with your own money?" "Do people have everything they want?" and "Why do people work?" The responses of the youngest children reflected tautological thinking ("yes, people have everything they want because they always do"); inaccurate or moralistic thinking ("no, people do not have everything they want, because Jesus don't want them to"). By age seven, though, most of the children were responding with "reasonable, accurate, and logical" explanations to these questions.

On questions having to do with topics such as taxes and international trade, however, the shift from naive to more-informed responses generally occurred later, between the ages of ten to twelve. Even though most children have had indirect experiences with taxes through payments of sales taxes for their purchases and through hearing parental conversations about taxes, many young people in this study responded that they "didn't know" what taxes were or why we paid them. It appears that in this case the child's experiences were neither frequent nor focused enough to serve as adequate data for the child's spontaneous concept generation.

The emphasis of the studies cited in this section is primarily on the economic concepts children develop through their own mental efforts, rather than through formal instruction. In all cases, age-related patterns of thought were identified, and the concept response patterns were congruent with Piagetian theory. That is, economic concept development responses seem to progress from concrete to more abstract; from inconsistent and narrow to consistent, flexible, and more accurate; and from tautological, literal, and rule-oriented to more generalizable (Armento 1986a).

In an empirical study intended to identify the values and beliefs of elementary and high school students, Cummings and Taebel (1978) explored economic socialization from a Neo-Marxist theoretical approach. Neo-Marxists argue that school children learn models of the social world favorable to the development and perpetuation of inequality. Cummings and Taebel contend that, since inequality is "a natural and inevitable outcome of a capitalist economy, ideas endorsing and legitimating such a process are integral to its existence and perpetuation" (ibid., 209). Their data does not show direct relationships between economic socialization or a youngster's prior ideas and the actual maintenance of "corporate capitalism," but they do show "strong support for the idea that economic socialization tends to legitimize the general structure of social inequality in American life and, thus, contribute to the perpetuation of prevailing economic arrangements" (ibid., 209).

In the Cummings and Taebel study, questions were structured around the topics of the role of trade unions, private ownership of the means of production, and the role of government intervention in the economy. On the questions about trade unions, children in third and sixth grades knew little or nothing about unions; students in ninth grade had some fairly specific ideas about trade unions. Fifty-four percent of the responses by ninth graders presented negative evaluations of unions, including comments such as: "They ask for too much; then the manufacturers have to raise the price, and the people can't afford to buy things anymore." "If a union insists that they get paid a whole lot, it can be worse for people."

By twelfth grade, 60 percent of the responses showed a negative evaluation of trade unions, with these assessments focused on the ideas that trade unions are too big, too powerful, and jeopardize social stability.

Students in this study were asked to explain the differences between free enterprise, socialism, and communism; by ninth grade, students began to express the idea that private ownership and productivity were necessary and inseparable parts of any smoothly functioning economy and that freedoms were limited under socialism and communism (which were seen by the students as interchangeable concepts). By twelfth grade, students saw socialism and communism as unworkable systems and felt that these two systems were in direct opposition to individual prosperity, fulfillment, and success.

On the role of government, many young children in the third and sixth grades thought that the government "owns the banks," "determines prices of goods," "controls money," and "should do more to help poor people." Even some of the ninth graders held some of these erroneous notions about the role of government in the setting of prices, owning of banks, etc. But, by twelfth grade, the role of the government, at least with regard to banking, was somewhat more accurate, but still not very complete. The older students tended to view government intervention in social-economic affairs as a potential threat to self-interest.

What are we to think about the results of the Cummings and Taebel study? Well, we might start out with a few more questions: Are these findings truly representative of the economic knowledge and beliefs of young people? Are these "good and complete" ideas we think young students should possess? Is something missing? If so, what? What economic knowledge—and in what forms—is useful for ordinary life and for the solving of economic/political issues? What economic knowledge should be taught? How should alternative ideological perspectives be treated?

For at least the past twenty years in the U.S., the dominant approach to the teaching of economics has been the key social sciences concepts and generalization approach (Armento 1986a), with not much (if any) attention given to the ideological assumptions made by this selection as opposed to some other approach. There is not sufficient space within this paper to explore the issues implied by the selection of any one approach to knowledge, but at least we should be aware that the omissions and commissions of the curriculum choices we make are in and of themselves agents of socialization. That is, if economic knowledge is presented to students as "foregone conclusions," students will come to believe these generalizations as *the* one and only perspective, rather than *as one and only one* perspective on a topic. By middle school, students have the cognitive capacity to comprehend multiple perspectives, and should have practice exploring these in depth on topics of relevance to them. The alternative—that is, to teach one interpretation as fact—is merely indoctrination.

Two further points about economic knowledge should be raised before discussing problem solving. First, from an historical perspective, the formal study of economics in the U.S. can be traced to 1819 when John McVickar was made professor of moral philosophy and *political economy* at Columbia College, New York (Monroe 1911). Political economy soon made its way into high schools via the Problems of Democracy course, but the issue of the separate or integrated attention that should be given to the study of economics and of political science has been debated (sometimes hotly) since the NEA Committee on Social Studies made its 1916 report. While this issue is relevant for us today, the debate has hardly begun in earnest. If social issues are interdisciplinary and demand knowledge drawn not only from political science but also from economics, ethics, history, and other areas, how and where (in the curriculum) do students learn to address the important issues of the day?

The second point has to do with the difficulty levels of many economic concepts, especially those that are used in the analysis of national or international issues. This would include such concepts as aggregate supply and demand, fiscal and monetary policies, inflation, poverty, international trade, and absolute and comparative advantage. All of these—as well as many other economic concepts (scarcity, opportunity cost, markets, demand, supply, price, and so on)—are *relational* concepts. That is, they are defined by establishing a relationship between at least two separate ideas; for example, demand has to do with relationships between price and quantities demanded. We know from a long and respected tradition of research on concept learning that relational concepts are the most difficult of all types to learn (Clark 1971) and to teach.

Failure to consider the difficulty levels of economic knowledge alongside the anticipated cognitive competence of the student population can only lead to frustrated teachers and learners, as well as to the further development of misconceptions about the economic world. We know also that knowledge is structured by the learner in schemata or pictorial representations of the ways in which the ideas are organized. From research on problem solving (Voss, Tyler, and Yengo 1983), we know that "expert" problem solvers organize their knowledge in hierarchical, relational, and causal patterns. That is, knowledge is stored and retrieved in "meaningful patterns" rather than in "bits and pieces."

In order to promote meaningful learning, ideas that go together should be taught together, with students having opportunities to organize and reorganize their prior ideas along with new ideas. Students should be able to identify causal patterns, to know how ideas and facts relate to one another, and to know which are the broad and important ideas and which are the minor and less important ideas. Classroom practice with these processes will enable students to develop more complete, accurate, and meaningful schemata of the social-economic world.

Problem Solving

Citizenship education has as its core decision making, problem solving and civic action. What do we know about "solving" economic/political problems? First, in the context of social problems, the word "solving" cannot be taken to mean "ending" a problem but more likely the taking of steps from here to a "better" there or the rendering of steps to make the condition "not a problem." As individuals, as communities, as a nation, and as a global community, we are continually faced with economic issues that demand reflection, understanding, analysis, and action. How shall we go about enabling young adolescents to be better social problem solvers?

Research on teaching thinking and problem solving is at its most exciting point in history right now! And, there is active research in problem solving in almost every area of the curriculum except in social studies! Much of the current work is drawn from a cognitive psychology perspective: the major emphasis or approaches are (1) studies of individuals who are experts in particular domains, emphasizing the role of domain-specific knowledge and (2) studies emphasizing general strategic or metacognitive knowledge—or the ability to learn new information and to monitor one's current levels of proficiency (Bransford, et al. 1986).

To be an expert is not to suggest that students are to become mini-economists or mini-political scientists, but rather that they become better problem solvers, better able to understand their social world, its economic-political problems, and better able to act on these issues in responsible ways. There are several major characteristics that distinguish relative experts from relative novices in any area:

Complexity of Skills. The expert social problem solver possesses skills appropriate for responding to more and to different kinds of information. This person can first of all *find* or *locate* information relevant to a problem, can critique this information, and can then apply the information to the problem. These skills would include being able to "read" data from a variety of sources: charts, graphs, maps, and tables, for example.

Amount of Knowledge. Expert problem solvers possess meaningful bodies of interconnected knowledge. The knowledge is stored in hierarchical, relational, and causal schemata. New knowledge is grasped and retained more easily by the expert because she/he can see where the new ideas fit in the already developed schemata. Prior knowledge is built upon and also reorganized as new ideas are learned.

The proper role of knowledge in the social studies curricula has long been a source of controversy. Some leaders in the field have promoted the notion of reflective thinking and citizenship education as though these were contentless processes. There is no controversy, though, about the important role knowledge plays in reflective thinking if we look to the current research (see Bereiter and Scardomalia 1986; Bransford, Sherwood, Vye, and Rieser 1986; and Voss, Tyler, and Yengo 1983). From the current research on problem solving, we see that knowledge—more and better organized knowledge—plays a critical role in reflective thinking/problem solving. Without specific knowledge of particular issues, the learner is truly unable to even begin to assess the issue, propose alternative perspectives, and offer a tentative solution.

Knowledge Structure. As we have already said, experts not only know more, but their knowledge is organized in more coherent and usable ways. Causal, relational, and hierarchical patterns of conceptual thought are evident as experts "talk aloud" as they address economic issues (Voss, Tyler, and Yengo 1983). It appears that it is this structuring of knowledge that facilitates memory as well as the storing of new knowledge into "meaningful places in memory." Ideas clustered and stored in meaningful groupings, then, are more easily stored, retrieved, and applied to new situations and to problems.

Problem Representation. Problem-solving experts "frame" the problem they are addressing by identifying the major and minor issues, identifying the causes for the issues and the constraints that limit their attempt to "solve" the problem. The expert is able to understand the historical antecedents and the subtleties involved in the problem.

Summary

The research reported here provides many clues for the improvement of social studies curriculum for adolescents. If we intend for students to be better able to comprehend the economic/political world and to be better able to propose and act on better solutions to domestic and international economic issues, we should:

- Encourage a curiosity and sense of inquisitiveness about the social-economic world, and a realization that our knowledge about the world is invented, that it is tentative, and that the same event may be interpreted by observers differently because of differences in beliefs and in the prior knowledge of the observers;
- Encourage students to be active constructors of social-economic knowledge, to make their ideas explicit, and to view themselves as reconstructors of knowledge; and
- Provide students many opportunities for confronting social-economic problems, for studying problems in depth, and for examining problems from a range of perspectives.

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Socialization and Participation: A Research Agenda for the 21st Century

Curtis B. Gans

I want to apologize to all of you. I gather I'm one of the two people who did not submit a paper in advance. On the other hand, forty-eight hours ago it wasn't clear that I was going to be here, and thirty hours ago—as my voice may indicate—it wasn't clear that I was going to be able to say anything even if I was here. The only advantage of getting a cold from your twenty-month-old and then being flat on your back for six of the last twelve days while he gaily recovers in a day is that I had a chance to read everyone's paper, which is probably more than anyone else had the opportunity to do.

I think I understand how I was chosen to be here. There are great mentioners. I have spoken at conferences in which organizations involved in this conference were sponsors. I am, as some know, a charter member of the Freeman Butts admiration society. But what I don't know is how I was placed on this particular panel. Which is to say, reading and hearing the two papers presented before me increased my knowledge of the literature of political and economic socialization by infinity. Which if one knows even rudimentary mathematics tells whence I started. It is also to say to you, Judy and Beverly, that you have nothing to fear from me.

I spent the days on my back trying to figure out how I could relate to this conference, and what I will do will be with only the barest reference to the papers presented in this session.

I intend therefore to speak as one who is deeply committed to the main thrust of this conference—the furtherance of civic and citizenship education and values. But I also intend to look at the prospects for this enterprise through a glass darkly and to suggest a research agenda that might help instruct what we are doing here.

Many of you know me because in this fall period every two years, I get to be reasonably well known. Andy Warhol once said that everyone is famous for fifteen minutes. Well, I get my fifteen minutes and more every two years because I am the keeper of voter turnout statistics. Those statistics are increasingly grim. This year only half the electorate voted. It was the lowest turnout since 1924; and outside of the South, it was the lowest turnout since 1824. Fewer people voted this year than in 1984, an occurrence that has happened only once before in this century—in 1944, when millions were abroad and in uniform.

In 1960 we had the highest turnout (62.8 percent of eligible Americans) since women were granted the franchise in 1920. That turnout was lower than most democracies, but it was assumed that were we to enfranchise blacks in the South and liberalize our system of registration, voting turnout would rise to approximate the turnout of many other democracies who share our lack of class consciousness and have a complex rather than a simple parliamentary democracy. Since 1960 we have enfranchised blacks, liberalized our voting laws, our elections have become more competitive, and the demographic factors supposed to enhance turnout—age, education, and mobility—have all been pointing to increase, and our voter turnout has dropped 20 percent. I used to say we were the democracy with the lowest rate of participation except Botswana, but Botswana is now ahead of us. If one counts both our mid-term and our presidential elections, the United States has the lowest turnout of any democracy in the world.

Of more moment for this conference, in the 1986 election, 16.6 percent of eligible eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds voted and, although final census surveys for this year are not yet published, it is unlikely that turnout for eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds would have risen to a level of more than 30 percent. Both these figures are fully 20 percentage points lower than the national average and represent 40 and 60 percent drop-offs from adult participation. Young people are the only newly enfranchised group that has had a decline in voting after enfranchisement.

In 1976, we did a survey of non-voters. What we found then was that the dominant emotion reflected was alienation. Thanks to recent studies by Stephen Bennett of the University of Cincinnati, Cox Newspapers, and a series of focus groups conducted by Peter Hart in Baltimore for People for the American Way, it seems now that, at least among the young, the dominant attitude is indifference.

To illustrate let me quote from two, triple-spaced pages of transcript of one of the focus groups Hart conducted in Baltimore:

> ***Peter***: How many people's parents were registered and voted? Okay. Most everybody except for Tim's, their parents are voters. Jackie's were. Okay. That's interesting. Let me talk about something else, if I can, and that is we talk about being a good American being a good citizen. What's the definition of being a good citizen? Are you good citizens? Everyone thinks of themselves as good citizens, or not particularly, or apathetic, or what? Buddy, you're smiling.
>
> ***Buddy***: Let's see. Well, I was thinking of—[inaudible]—the difference between a good American and a good citizen. I mean, I thought—[inaudible]. I think too many people are apathetic, and I know myself, and I don't think I'm aware as enough as I should be, and I don't think I'm involved enough as I should be. I don't know. Let somebody else talk because—[inaudible].
>
> ***Peter***: Okay. Robin.
>
> ***Robin***: I don't think I'm a bad citizen. I just don't—I guess I don't take enough thought in what's going on around me.

Peter: Okay. Audrey.

Audrey: I'm not a bad citizen just 'cause—[inaudible]. It's just that bad citizens go out killing people. Terrorists.

Peter: Okay. Good.

Mr. [name not given]: There's probably three levels of citizen—[inaudible]—your bad citizens probably tend to be the ones who do the lawbreaking, and you have your indifferent citizens who are basically apathetic, and then would be the good citizens who—[inaudible]—but also are involved and active in doing things for the community, or country at large. So contributing to society.

Peter: Okay. Good citizen, Leslie. What does it take to be a good citizen?

Leslie: Someone who follows the laws.

Peter: Follows the laws. Good. Wendy.

Wendy: I think I'm a good person. I don't know about a good citizen. I don't know the difference. I don't think I'm a bad citizen, like everybody else. I'm a "B".

Peter: You're a "B". Okay. And what makes you a "B"?

Wendy: I don't get involved with politics. I don't get involved with the local government. I don't get involved with anything except my neighbor. You know, if my neighbor needs help at the grocery store or something, or some little old lady needs help crossing the street, or I run around for grandparents, neighbors, anybody who needs a ride, you know.

Peter: Jackie.

Jackie: I don't think I'm a bad citizen. I mean, I don't do nothing really bad, and steal or take drugs, or anything.

Peter: And what's a good citizen? Brian.

Brian: I'm not a bad citizen either, but, you know, it's just by watching some of the TV reports—you know—about voting and all, sometimes you see reports that—you know rigging elections and stuff like that. So, I sit back and think sometimes my vote won't matter anyway.

Peter: Is anybody involved—I really wasn't aiming just at voting—but is anybody involved with the community in any way? Anybody do volunteer work of any type? Wendy, what do you do?

Wendy: I have a softball team—well, actually, a soccer team and a little league baseball team.

Peter: What, do you coach, or—

Wendy: Manage kids.

Peter: You manage. Okay. Little kids.

Wendy: Yeah.

Peter: Yes. And how about you, Audrey?

Audrey: I coach a soccer team, and baseball. My nephew has cerebral palsy, so whenever his friends want to come over or something, if their parents let them, I go pick them up for them.

> ***Peter***: Anybody else do anything in terms of community, or, you know, Big Brother/Little Sister programs, internships, anything?
>
> ***Lisa***: I have in the past. I just recently haven't been doing anything.

And it goes on like that for about sixty pages. We have a lot of high-minded thoughts in this room, many of which I deeply share. But I fear that those thoughts are being poured into vessels which can't even understand much less respond to the words.

This leads me to the question of research. And it leads me back to my twenty-month-old son who gave me the cold that lingered while he was fine in a matter of days. I remember taking that child to his eighteen-month medical check-up. On the way, he said, "Dr. Bromberg," and he smiled. (He likes Dr. Bromberg.) And then he said, "Hurt." (He remembered the shots he has had at the doctor's office.) Similarly, in Florida at eighteen months, he could clearly see, understand, and articulate the sequence between Daddy, money, and the Mickey Mouse balloon he wanted. I was taken by Judy's discussion of schemata, for it seemed to me that my child had his own rudimentary schemata. And that in the design of curriculum for Grades 8-9, we will be more successful if the curriculum we plan here fits into home experience and school experience that dovetails with the development schemata at every stage of the child's life. Thus, I think, I'm suggesting research on development and socialization, curricula and stimuli throughout the child's formative years.

The second point I wish to make is that the participation rate of youth is unusually low. It is not simply that it is at 16.6 percent in midterm elections and 30 percent in presidential elections, but that it is so much lower than the rest of the electorate. If youth participated at a rate perhaps 20 percent lower than the rest of the electorate, then you could blame it on lack of roots, personal and family socialization, unique registration barriers among other things. But because it is between 40 and 60 percent lower than the rest of the electorate, youth's lack of participation poses a distinct danger for democracy in the future.

In this context, and in order to devise wise social and educational policy, it would be useful to find out about the characteristics of those who participate among various young people's demographic subgroupings. Are there differences in parental upbringing and values; is their school experience different; is their relationship to the mass media different; who are their peers and who influences their thinking; what involvement experiences have they been engaged in, etc.? I think, quite simply, while we know enough to understand that the situation with regard to youth participation is bad, we do not yet know enough to effectively set it aright.

Third, I was positively impressed with Michael Nelson's paper, in part because one likes reinforcement for one's own thinking. But also it dovetails with Neil Postman's *Amusing Ourselves To Death*, John Splaine's and Wilma Longstreet's presentations at the recent Council for the Advancement of Citizenship Conference and a piece that I wrote last summer for The Arts and Leisure Section of *The New York Times*. In each of these works, the focus is what television as an institution and in its programming and other uses has done to our society and polity. What we need to know is how television affects the perceptions and knowledge structure of the young, how we may cope with its pernicious effects and how we might use that particular technology for the service of enhancing education and involvement.

Fourth, while I very firmly share Stuart Langston's commitment to involvement and public service as a means of developing citizenship, I don't think we know enough about what forms of involvement yield sustaining participation—what forms of participation can overcome the likely disillusionment of any experience in a political marketplace in which change is at best incremental, and problems tend to be only partially soluble on the level of active participation. We need, very simply, both experimental and longitudinal studies of what involvement activities work. (We also, I might add parenthetically, need the capacity to mount such longitudinal studies without enormous overhead expense.)

Fifth, I think we have to look at the vessel into which we are pouring our thoughts. Everyone who participated in Peter Hart's focus group was a high school graduate. The administrative and teaching structure that produced those individuals and the large scale indifference that is being reported in all studies is now being called upon to fulfill great plans for civic education. We are today a far distance from the times of John Dewey, Robert Maynard Hutchins, and Frank Porter Graham in the understanding of and commitment to education for citizenship. And we need to examine how we get from where we are to some place where the noble ideas expressed in this room have the type of administrative and teaching support to make an impact on young minds.

The last thing I have to say is simply that as deeply committed as I am to civic education, we are not going to get a committed and socially conscious set of young people and larger society until some of the larger questions of our polity are dealt with. The only paper presented to this conference with which I strongly disagreed was the one that suggested that we should not develop critical thinking because it would lead to cynicism. Given the quality of our politics now, I would expect that the critical thinking would lead to legitimate cynicism, but that is not a valid argument for depriving our young of the tools for critical thinking. Rather it is an argument to do something about those aspects of our polity that are likely to breed cynicism.

In this regard, we need to look at values: the tendency of politicians to demagogue against government creating a we/they dichotomy between the people and their government, making government the enemy and reducing the impulse to participate; of a tendency since the mid-1970s for people to seek their own self-fulfillment, of which the quarter of those attending college studying business is only one symptom; and of leaders pushing self-seeking values at the expense of commitment to the community. We need to look at political parties that are weak, misaligned, and too often subject to the demobilizing influences of political consultants, technology, and message obfuscation. We need to look at a government that seems to lack the capacity to anticipate problems before they become virtually intractable or respond well to sustained citizen desires. We need to look at the continuing question of the decline in ethical standards for leaders. We need to look at both the citizen usage of and broadcast conduct in the medium called television; and we need to assess and deal with the fact that we are growing increasingly atomized, lacking in community, producing a polity in which the citizen is becoming a spectator and consumer of politics rather than a participant and stockholder.

It seems to me that unless/until we address some of these factors, the curriculum we are here trying to design will not make a substantial impact.

So over and above what we are doing as people concerned with curriculum and education, we need also be concerned as citizens and demand change in a number of areas from our leadership. One can be gratified at the growing concern and proliferation of organizational and institutional commitment to civic education, but we must elicit similar concern from and for other aspects of our polity.

I don't know whether I've added anything to this discussion. I surely haven't added anything to the literature of economic and political socialization. I hope I've raised a few challenging questions, and before my voice becomes truly adolescent, I would like to retire from the fray.

Part Seven:

Values, Ethics, and Civic Education

Introduction to Part Seven

William T. Callahan, Jr.

What civic education means and what it should be expected to achieve are not entirely agreed upon. Some confine civic education to the realm of knowledge and skills, concentrating on the rights and duties of citizenship, while eschewing politics and morality. Such a view avoids controversy, but it is incomplete. As Andrew Oldenquist (1980, 31) has argued, those who would "intellectualize citizenship education to the point of limiting it to skills and competencies can have no hope of creating citizens who care." Civic education involves more than simply cultivating minds; it also entails empowerment (Morrill 1982). Active participation and commitment to democratic values are integral aspects of civic competence that must be taught.

Values are the standards of choice that guide the community toward meaningful and desirable ends. As such, they are inevitably present as a part of the human experience, functioning as the criteria by which thought and action are oriented, assessed, and justified (cf. Williams 1960, Morrill 1980). Because of the complex nature of the subject, the affective dimension of civics was addressed from several perspectives during the conference. R. Freeman Butts delineated a schema of the democratic values the schools should teach. Michael Hartoonian examined the goals and content of values education from the ethical and philosophical perspectives. James Leming responded to these presentations by focusing on practical issues of teaching methods and evaluation.

Participation in civic life requires an identification with and sharing of some community of values. Robert Bellah and his associates, following Alexis de Tocqueville, have called these shared mores "habits of the heart." Gunnar Myrdal (1944) in his classic, *The American Dilemma*, termed the basic values undergirding the United States the "American Creed," and counted among its tenets individual dignity, equality, majority rule, due process, and inalienable rights to life, liberty, and happiness. He characterized the creed values as the "cement" that holds a disparate nation together. The connection between common values and pluralism is an important one. Without broad agreement on basic values, a stable pluralism would not be possible. At the same time, because we do not always or completely agree on the content or application of values, pluralism is necessary (Morrill 1982, 368).

The teaching of values has always been a sensitive area in the conduct of schooling. Spurred on by reaction to the "me first" syndrome, official corruption, and increased crime and vandalism over the past two decades, however, there has been renewed support for teaching widely-shared values. The overwhelming majority of states now mandate the integration of ethical and citizenship values into their civic education programs (Reische 1987). While there is still disagreement about what the substantive focus of civic education should be, there is general agreement that the underlying problem is insufficient concern with, attention to, understanding of, and passion for the public interest or the public good. Solving this problem is a question of values education.

In large measure, contemporary debates concerning which values to consider basic and how to define them reflect the inherent tension between commitment and rationality in a democratic society. James P. Shaver (1985) has explained this tension in terms of the affective and cognitive aspects of values. On the one hand, the perpetuation of society depends upon inculcating each new generation with commitment to democratic values. The cohesive force of values derives from their affective component, the positive feelings people have about values such as equality and due process of law. On the other hand, a hallmark of our democracy is commitment to rationality and freedom of choice. Values must therefore be open to inquiry and debate as concepts. Indeed, pluralism guarantees that there will be a diversity of views on the cognitive aspects of values—such as how they are to be defined, applied, or weighted in making public policy. The mandate (and the challenge) to schools is to reinforce the affective dimensions of values and stimulate the cognitive examination of values without endorsing any particular definitions, interpretations, or applications. In their own ways, each of the three papers in this section addresses this challenge.

R. Freeman Butts (1980, 6) has long held that "education for citizenship is the *primary* purpose of universal education." He has also been unflagging in the belief that civic education must give a central place to the explicit study and practice of democratic values. Indeed, in his paper that follows, he calls upon the public schools to give "highest priority" to the teaching and learning of the values underlying the ideals and practice of democratic citizenship. While there have been some hopeful signs concerning such a revival of civic learning in recent years, they have been limited by at least two factors.

In the first instance, while the notion that democratic values should be a continuing theme throughout the kindergarten through twelfth-grade curriculum has been gaining in popularity, too often formal instruction in citizenship is postponed until the eleventh or twelfth grade. By this time, a large proportion of youth have dropped out of school and therefore will never have the opportunity to formally study democratic values. In the second instance, when civics *is* offered at the eighth or ninth grade, the textbooks available are distinctly deficient. Most significantly for Butts, little attention is paid to democratic values, the conflicts among them, or their dynamic evolution through time. Without a meaningful conception of democratic values, the informed exercise of civic judgment is not possible.

What values should be emphasized in a revitalized civics course offered at the eighth- or ninth-grade levels and supported by reconstituted texts? Butts offers one dozen requisite values in matched sets of six. Half of the values tend to support the goals and tendencies of a pluralistic society: freedom, diversity, privacy, due process, property, and human rights. Half support the goals and tendencies that bind us together as a political community: justice, equality, authority, participation, truth, and patriotism.

One could argue endlessly about whether more values should be included or about the propriety of assigning a superordinate place to justice as at the very heart of democracy. With one possible exception, however, it seems difficult to assail Butts' list on the grounds that any of the values enumerated is *not* central to the theory and practice of democratic citizenship. Only the inclusion of human rights requires a basic change in historical views of citizenship, broadening it to encompass an international dimension, and Butts argues persuasively on behalf of doing so.

The schema that Dr. Butts offers has much to recommend it beyond its appealing parsimony. Its presentation in tabular form underscores the delicate balance between the rights (*Pluribus*) and the obligations (*Unum*) of citizenship, while also highlighting the corrupted forms of each of the twelve values. A great deal of information is presented in a compact form. Moreover, the twelve values lend themselves to an enhanced civic education in at least three other ways.

First, it is difficult to escape the fact of conflict between values from this set. It is important for students to learn that civic life frequently involves choosing between values, not simply affirming them. Second, the dynamism and fluidity of democratic values is well underscored. Students need to learn that the meaning and application of values evolve over time. Finally, Dr. Butts shows, through a cogent analysis of the pledge of allegiance issue in the 1988 presidential campaign and in highlighting recent Supreme Court decisions involving due process and privacy rights of students and teachers, that a focus on democratic values provides rich opportunities for engaging students in the consideration of issues that directly impact their schools and their lives.

Implicit in Butts' argument, and in that of many who have devised lists of citizenship values, is the notion of recovering a heritage or tradition that has been lost. For Butts, this can be achieved by creating psychological legitimacy among the citizenry involving understanding, acceptance, and confidence in democratic institutions, and processes. At the center of this renewed commitment is the value of justice. For Michael Hartoonian, the problem of contemporary democratic society is made explicit at the outset: a condition of amorality resulting from an inability, both individually and collectively, to understand the relationship between public and private life, and the role of ethics in that relationship.

According to Hartoonian, the amorality of contemporary civic life stems from two main sources. In the first instance, we have developed a kind of "cultural amnesia" in which the historical and philosophical foundations of our nation have been forgotten. Individual self-interest and the common good, concepts inextricably linked in Jefferson's idea of "public happiness" and Adam Smith's notion of "self-interest properly understood," have become separated. The relationship between education and virtue has been forgotten altogether. In the second instance, contemporary society has exacerbated and compounded this amnesia by fostering privatism and isolation. The enlightened self-interest and sense of community at the heart of capitalism and democracy have been brushed aside in favor of the single-minded pursuit of self-gratification. This is a condition adverse both to our traditions and to the personal well-being of citizens.

The remedy for these maladies is to be found in the recreation of a shared ethical perspective by which the disjuncture between self-interest and the common good is reconciled. This involves the development of an inclusive mind-set which sees self-interest and the common good as parts of the same idea. Such an ethical perspective is achieved through education, including the behavior (modeling) of adults. Unlike contemporary education, however, a reconfigured education for citizenship would hold as its purpose making better, rather than better off, individuals.

The citizen must be educated, according to Hartoonian, in three areas that integrate the meaning and practice of enlightened citizenship. These are love, criticism, and meaning. Love encompasses loyalty, and is the force that binds a community together. Loyalty can be blind and unjust, however, so citizens must also be practiced in criticism. Criticism concerns judgment and requires that citizens observe the social order, react to it, and judge whether it advances or retards valued ends. People will only lovingly criticize those institutions and ideas in which they find personal meaning, however, and meaning is achieved through engagement. This entails extensive involvement with others in common activities for the common good, and closely resembles the "civic talk" advocated by David Mathews.

The goal of civic education in this view is the production of loving critics who find personal meaning and fulfillment in engagement with others for the common good of the community. Their task is to participate in an ongoing dialogue between social theory and gross facts, the ideals of society and the reality. An education that equips students to understand the social theories of democracy and capitalism, evaluate their practice in the real world, and act to bring more congruency between the ideal and the real will bring more justice and meaning into the lives of citizens.

In responding to the papers by R. Freeman Butts and Michael Hartoonian, James Leming ranges beyond simply analyzing and critiquing their arguments. Dr. Leming points out that although Butts and Hartoonian confront civic education differently, the goals they endorse and the content they recommend are quite similar. Yet, Leming points out, goals and content are not the only questions that must be addressed in an educational endeavor. Methods and evaluation loom large as well. Butts and Hartoonian, for the most part, deal with the former questions. Leming addresses the latter.

Dr. Leming points out that both papers reflect what appears to be a profound paradox at the very heart of civic education. On the one hand, both scholars promote the preparation of citizens with profound and lasting commitments to democratic values. On the other hand, these same citizens must be deliberative and critically-oriented. The paradox of citizenship education is that the rational and critical perspective of the mature citizen must necessarily grow out of the imposed (non-rational) morality of the adult world. Positive feelings about democracy must develop well before the child has a complete understanding of what it is, while the first steps toward independent, rational judgment must be based on unquestioned deference to authority.

Dr. Leming argues persuasively that the paradox of civic education is apparent, not real. Learning to live with authority and to behave according to authoritative rules is not a point in conflict with the development of the deliberative citizen. Rather, learning to respect authority and live according to rules is a necessary precursor to rational, critical-minded citizenship. The challenge of civic education is to manage the student's movement from the morality of authority to the morality of principle. Unfortunately, this movement is frequently handled badly, often because of a lack of sensitivity on the part of civic educators to the needs, interests and abilities of young adolescents.

Three types of errors are commonly associated with citizenship education, according to Leming, and they must be avoided if a new eighth- or ninth-grade civics curriculum is to succeed. The first is the teaching of "phony concepts," terms such as "rights" or "justice," that may be adopted by adolescents for use in speech or writing, but not understood. A related problem results from assuming that the value content of the curriculum and texts will be the value content learned by students. The "hypodermic" model of education assumes that whatever the curriculum requires is what students will learn. In point of fact, Leming argues, the relationship between student and curriculum is interactive, not unidirectional.

Perhaps the biggest mistake civic education for young adolescents often makes, and the point at which Leming strongly disagrees with Butts and Hartoonian, is its fixation on the critical-reflective perspective. While this is an important characteristic of the mature citizen, there may be collateral learnings detrimental to citizenship associated with it. If the student's foundation of commitment to democratic values is not solid, the critical perspective may result in criticism for the sake of criticism. More seriously, impressionable young students may develop mistrust, cynicism, and a weakened sense of efficacy when confronted too early with the "warts" of democracy.

To ensure against these errors and their attendant dangers, Leming offers three sets of recommendations to guide the formulation of a new civics curriculum for young adolescents. First, strong historical and comparative components are necessary to counteract the potentially devastating effects of encountering the "warts" of democratic capitalism. It is not enough to simply stress that values are ideals toward which we strive. A sense of perspective, of progress over time, must be given through historical and cross-national comparisons.

Second, the values that are included must be defined in a developmentally appropriate manner. It is too much to expect an eighth- or ninth-grade student to internalize John Rawls' concept of "justice," for example. In keeping with the developmental characteristics of young adolescents, the values selected for emphasis should also lend themselves to application in concrete situations of personal significance to students. As Butts amply demonstrates, there is no reason for the study of values to be distant from the lives and concerns of students. Properly conceptualized, democratic values can be a most engaging content for study.

Finally, as a general precept, Leming urges restraint in assisting young adolescents toward mature citizenship. Civics is but a single course in what is literally a lifetime enterprise. One course cannot turn an eighth- or ninth-grade student into a mature citizen, nor should the curriculum be framed in terms of the attributes of the mature citizen. Depth should take precedence over breadth. As important as the "crisis" in citizenship may be, it will not be solved by attempting to accelerate middle school civic education beyond the intellectual and emotional capacity of young adolescents.

Given the charged atmosphere in which values and moral and character education are often discussed, it was rather surprising that the content of Butts' and Hartoonian's papers provoked little acrimony among conference participants. As he had anticipated, Dr. Butts was forced into a mild defense of his inclusion of "human rights" as a central democratic value, but otherwise there was little serious debate over his twelve tables of civism. Similarly, Michael Hartoonian's call for a renewed linkage between self-interest and the common good sounded a responsive chord among most participants. The synergies between his presentation and those of David Mathews and Matlock, Watts, and Short, were approvingly noted, but discussion went little beyond this point.

The bulk of conference deliberations concerning the general topic of values evolved around James Leming's presentation. One interesting line of discussion focused on the influence of text materials on student values. Some conferees were unaware of the growing body of literature Dr. Leming reviewed indicating that texts have precious little influence on student values. Biased texts, whether pro- or anti-contemporary values, do not appear to produce biased students. Whether instructional materials change or reinforce students' values depends upon a variety of interacting factors and conditions. There is no simple, linear relationship between textbook content and student learning.

A second interesting line of discussion revolved around stages in the development of the citizen. While those present generally accepted the notion of a stage-like progression from the morality of authority to the morality of principle, many were concerned with the extent to which the successful completion of this progression depends on benign environments. Specifically, given the anti-democratic organization of most schools, it seemed likely to some conferees that when students mature to the point of considering the need for rules, they would conclude that many are not based on rationality or love, but rather on irrationality and convenience, and cynicism would result. Changes in the family that increase parental pressures and reduce their time with children might also result in authoritarian and convenience-based rule making and consequently reinforce this cynicism.

This concern led to a rather free-wheeling discussion of the "hidden curriculum" and the extent to which teacher behavior and attitudes, classroom climate, and school organization influence the civic values and attitudes of students. There seemed to be general agreement that these factors might have a much greater impact on student values than do texts or other instructional materials. Consequently, serious attention should be paid to bringing more congruence between the ideals of democracy and the reality of the school and the classroom. Although schools are not little democracies or microcosms of society, if their rules and procedures cannot be defended on a rational basis they must be changed. Otherwise, efforts to fight the twin civic malignancies of cynicism and apathy are doomed from the start.

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Democratic Values: What the Schools Should Teach[1]

R. Freeman Butts

The purpose of this paper is to outline briefly the democratic ideas and values that I believe should be explicitly studied and practiced throughout the American school system. Nothing is more common than for curriculum guidelines to proclaim the teaching of democratic values as a major goal of public education in general and of social studies in particular, but then to fail to make such values explicit or clearly visible in the content or scope and sequence of topics they recommend for study.

Even the influential social studies frameworks recently drawn up in New York and California, which argue that democratic values should be continuing themes throughout secondary education, do not require civics at the ninth grade (California State Department of Education 1988; New York State Department of Education 1986a, 1986b). They postpone the specific study of government to the eleventh or twelfth grades. This missing link is potentially a disaster. So long as the dropout rate is so high, many youths will never get to the serious study of democratic values.

There is a second missing link. Those textbooks designed for the civics courses that *are* taught in the ninth grade pay little attention to democratic values. An excellent example is the review of five civics texts and thirteen government texts carried out by a six-member panel of political scientists and teachers, chaired by James D. Carroll of the Brookings Institution and including Thomas E. Mann, the former executive director of the American Political Science Association, and Norman J. Ornstein, research scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Their conclusion was that

> . . . the texts put too much stress on facts and too little on concepts, methods, and participation. As a result, the texts too often are static descriptions of dynamic processes, ignoring questions of belief and value at the heart of people's "lives and fortunes and sacred honor" (Carroll 1987, vi).

James Carroll summarized the panel's recommendations as follows:

> In general, we face the challenge of developing a fresh approach to the subject of government, one that brings it to life and induces the student to think critically about American public values, the conflicts among them, and the difficulty and necessity of continually making choices. . . .

> 1. The overall approach to teaching government in high schools should be changed from merely imparting information to more broadly preparing students to become concerned, active citizens.
> 2. The Constitution, and particularly the Bill of Rights, should be examined early in the text and used throughout as a context for discussion. Greater emphasis should be placed upon constitutional values through the use of case studies, profiles of individuals, and significant Supreme Court cases.
> 3. Controversial issues should be discussed fairly and explicitly.
> 4. Students will learn the necessity and value of involvement by becoming involved. . . . Students should be able to "practice" some aspects of responsible citizenship and observe firsthand the workings of politics and government (1987, vii).

In my two recent books I have been arguing for substantially the same points; namely, that the public schools should give highest priority to substantive teaching and learning of the civic values underlying the ideals and practices of democratic citizenship. I do not couch these values in terms of imperatives that imply only one correct answer or set of beliefs. Instead, I have phrased them in commonly used words and ideas of political discourse, which students and teachers together should study and try to understand if they are to fulfill their obligations and rights as American citizens.

How are citizens to be prepared to judge the merits of public policies in domestic and foreign affairs as conducted by officials now in office or as proposed by candidates for office? How are citizens to be enabled to judge the tangled web of one kind of morality in public talk and another kind of ethics in personal practice, whether found in government, the stock market, or corporate, labor, or religious enterprises? Surely not by any simple formulas of moral or civic preachments. In the long run this can best be achieved only by careful judgments informed by a reasoned historical perspective and by a meaningful conception of the basic democratic values underlying citizenship in our constitutional order.

A striking example of the need for such informed judgment was the way the appeal to the pledge of allegiance was handled in the 1988 presidential campaign. The candidates and the public alike failed the test over and over again. The pledge was simply bandied about as a symbol of patriotism or the lack of it. The role that the state and the public schools should properly play in promoting civic loyalty, patriotism, and commitment to democratic values was scarcely hinted at. (See the following section on Patriotism.) The occasion for a constructive civics lesson was all but lost.

The time is ripe for American education to pay more attention to how much agreement there may now be about the civic values that schools and colleges should transmit through serious study and practice. No one expects full agreement or uniform acceptance of beliefs. I would hope, however, that there might be greater agreement about what is worth studying and learning.

To this end, I offer a possible agenda in "The Twelve Tables of Civism," with my apologies to the *decemvirs* of the Roman Republic who presumably drew up the original "Laws of the Twelve Tables" for the early Roman Republic, and to Aristotle's paradigm of politics in the later Greek republics. The "Twelve Tables" were the earliest codification of customary Roman civil and criminal law in the fifth century B.C. Aristotle posited that the true forms of government (monarchy, aristocracy, and republic), which served the public good, became corruptions when the rulers served their own interests, and the king became a tyrant, the aristocracy an oligarchy, and the republic a democracy or mobocracy.

Why twelve? Because that is a parsimonious number of concepts with which to summarize the underlying principles and values of American citizenship that should be studied in school and college. Besides, they are fewer than the Maryland Values Education Commission's nineteen character and citizenship values, or Edward Wynne's list of twenty-one values in *Character II*; and they are only slightly more than Chester Finn's ten values of cultural conservatism, but well under the 4,500 items of knowledge that E. D. Hirsch, Jr., proposes for cultural literacy (1987).

Why tables? Because a "table" is a schema or arrangement of words (or numbers) to exhibit a set of facts or ideas in a definite, compact, or comprehensive form. The tabular form, especially in parallel columns, may enhance the teaching effectiveness of the concepts by emphasizing the counterpoints between *Unum* and *Pluribus*, between the obligations of citizenship that bind us together as a political community and the rights of citizenship that betoken a democratic polity.

Why civism? Civism is a perfectly good English word, defined in the Oxford, Webster, and Random House unabridged dictionaries simply as "the principles of good citizenship." Despite its unfamiliarity in present usage, it echoes the late eighteenth century era of democratic revolution when it was coined in French as *civisme*, taken in turn from the Latin *civis*, meaning a citizen. Originally, it implied a favorable disposition toward the new French Republic, but since the English were not particularly favorably disposed toward the French Revolution, they used the term to refer especially to the citizenship ideals of the ancient Greek and Roman republics and to the citizen principle in general. The Latin word *civitas* has also come into the English language (see Webster's third edition and Random House's second), meaning the body of citizens constituting a politically organized community as well as the idea of citizenship itself, especially as imparting shared responsibility, a common purpose, and sense of community. The term civism is a shorthand way of referring to the principles, sentiments, and virtues of *good* citizenship in a democratic republic.

So I offer the concepts suggested in Table I as an agenda for revitalizing civic education in American schools and colleges, a common core of civic values that are fundamental to the theory and practice of democratic citi-

TABLE I

TWELVE TABLES OF CIVISM FOR THE MODERN AMERICAN REPUBLIC*

(with apologies to the "Laws of the Twelve Tables"
of the Early Roman Republic and to
Aristotle's Paradigm of the Later Greek Republics)

UNUM		PLURIBUS	
The Obligations of Citizenship		The Rights of Citizenship	
Corrupted Forms of Unum	True Forms of Unum	True Forms of Pluribus	Corrupted Forms of Pluribus
"Law and order"	**Justice**	**Freedom**	Anarchy
Enforced sameness; conformity	**Equality**	**Diversity**	"Unstable pluralism"
Authoritarianism; totalitarianism	**Authority**	**Privacy**	Privatism; privatization
"Majoritarianism"	**Participation**	**Due process**	"Soft on criminals"
"Beguiling half-truth; plausible falsehood"	**Truth**	**Property**	**"Property rights superior to human rights"**
Chauvinism; xenophobia	**Patriotism**	**Human rights**	"Cultural imperialism"

DEMOCRATIC CIVISM

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* Adapted from R. Freeman Butts, *The Morality of Democratic Citizenship: Goals for Civic Education in the Republic's Third Century*, (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1988), p. 136. ©

zenship in the United States. Whatever religious sanctions or ethical principles may give them support, they are the civic imperatives for American schools.

Justice

The basic idea of justice (that which is *fair*) is pervasive in most social contacts and at most ages. But there is also a timely educational reason for starting with the concept of justice. The past two decades have witnessed a remarkable shift of interest in political philosophy as well as in public affairs to questions of morality, equality, authority, and the obligations of citizenship along with matters of freedom and rights of citizenship. The idea of justice embraces all of these. It is a subject where several disciplines intersect: history, political science, philosophy, law, and religion, as well as economics. The idea of justice or fairness is therefore a good starting point for study and discussion in civics courses.

It is useful to think of justice as the moral basis of a democratic society, what John Rawls, Harvard philosopher, calls the "first virtue of social institutions." It is what must govern the conduct of people in their relations to one another, if the society is to be self-sufficient and well-ordered. Rawls speaks of a *public sense of justice* that produces a society in which everyone accepts, and knows that others accept, the same principles of justice. This means that the members of a well-ordered society must develop strong moral sentiments and effective desires to act as the principles of justice require.

The public sense of justice establishes the claims of what is *right* as prior to the claims of what is *good* since what is good is defined differently by individuals and groups according to their particular lifestyles and personal desires. The principles of what is right and what is just thus put limits on what may seem to be reasonable conceptions of one's own good. A just social system defines the boundaries within which individuals and pluralistic communities may develop their aims and actions. Rawls' first principle of justice is the citizen principle:

> Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all (1971, 302).

What are the "equal liberties" of citizenship? They bear close resemblance to the American constitutional order guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

> The basic liberties of citizens are, roughly speaking, political liberty (the right to vote and to be eligible for public office) together with freedom of speech and assembly; liberty of conscience and freedom of thought; freedom of the person along with the right to hold (personal) property; and freedom from arbitrary arrest and seizure as defined by the concept of the rule of law. These liberties are all required to be equal by the first principle, since citizens of a just society are to have the same basic rights (Rawls 1971).

Rawls' position has been criticized by some philosophers and social scientists, but his thinking points unmistakably to the priority of achieving a common civic community based on the citizen principle of justice, which I regard as the prime authority for the purposes of public education in general and of civics teaching in particular. He has paved the way for philosophers and practitioners of education to restore a profound civic, moral, and political basis to public education, if they but will.

Our task is to try to find out if there are common agreements on what values should be studied in civic education, agreements among academic specialists who may differ among themselves on fine or major points of political philosophy. For example, Michael Walzer of the Institute for Advanced Study attacks many aspects of Rawls' position, but he also says that teachers committed to the basic discipline necessary for democratic politics will try to establish a shared knowledge among their students. He says,

> The aim is not to repress differences but rather to postpone them, so that children learn to be citizens first—workers, managers, merchants, and professionals only afterward. Everyone studies the subjects that citizens need to know (Walzer 1983, 203).

Freedom

What is most illuminating about Rawls' theory of justice is his assignment of first priority to the idea of *equal basic liberties*. The just political community will then be committed to the idea of freedom as well as equality. I view freedom as having at least three elements relevant to civic education. Freedom involves:

1. The right, the opportunity, and the ability of every human being to live his or her own life in dignity and security and to seek self-fulfillment and self-realization as a person or as a member of a chosen group without arbitrary constraint by others. This is the freedom of the person and of private action.
2. The right, the opportunity, and the ability of every human being to speak, to read, to inquire, to think, to believe, to express, to learn, and to teach without arbitrary constraint or coercion by others, especially as a means for making deliberate choices among real alternatives on the basis of reason and valid and reliable knowledge. This is the freedom of the mind and of intellectual inquiry.
3. The right, the opportunity, and the ability of every citizen to take active part in shaping the institutions and laws under which he or she lives in common with others, and to do this by making uncoerced choices and by participating through active consent in cooperation with one's fellow citizens; and to do so in such a way as to promote justice, freedom, and equality for others. This is the freedom of the citizen and of public action.

Just as we need a "public conception of justice" as the basis for a well-ordered society, so do we need a "public conception of freedom" that is held sufficiently in common to assure the vitality of a free and democratic political community. Without some guidelines, the cherished freedoms can lead to the corruptions of anarchy, license, or unbridled libertarian individualism, as Aristotle and subsequent advocates of a high ideal of citizenship so often feared.

Equality

Along with justice and freedom, the idea of equality runs throughout the American creed of value claims for a democratic political community. "All men are created equal" is the first of the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. It even comes before the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The idea of equality was a counterpoise in the eighteenth-century struggle for democracy against the tyrannies of privilege and the closed orders of aristocracy and hierarchy. But it is also true that ever since, there has been an almost constant discord between the claims of freedom and the claims of equality.

There have been deep conflicts over the meaning of equality. Basically, does the phrase "all men are created equal" mean that in fact they *are* equal, or that they should be *treated* as though they are equal? Americans have generally put their emphasis on equal *rights* and equal *opportunity* rather than on enforcing an equality of *condition* or income, which may become a corruption of the democratic ideal of equality.

As the First Amendment was the charter for freedom, so the Fourteenth Amendment became the charter for equality. But it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that it became clear to the civil rights movement that stronger—not weaker—government would be required to achieve equal protection of the laws to overcome the historic discriminations that had resulted when states and local communities practiced "freedom of choice" by allowing dominant local groups to impose their views on their institutions and schools. The Supreme Court ruled in 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education* that the constitutional command of the *national* political community on behalf of equality must override the freedom of lesser political communities to institute segregational practices. This persistent tension between equality and freedom should be faced in civic education programs as directly and as honestly as possible.

Diversity

Respect for diversity and encouragement of a plurality of communities have been among the best elements of the American political system. Millions of immigrants have been and still are attracted to the United States because of their hope for life in a society that provided greater justice, freedom, and equality than they knew in their homelands—and they hoped for greater economic advantage as well. And millions found their hopes at least partially realized in a country of enormously diverse geography, ethnicity, language, religion, race, and culture.

So, diversity or plurality is one of the major values to be studied, analyzed, and honored in any program of civic education in American schools. This becomes all the more important today as the arrival of large numbers of people from Latin America, South Asia, and other countries leads to heightened controversies about bilingual education and to efforts to make English the official language.

There is merit in views that attempt to arrive at a balanced tension between the values of cultural plurality and political cohesion. For example, historian John Higham distinguishes between ethnic *boundaries* that strive to keep people in or out of groups and ethnic *nuclei* that give identity and sustenance to different groups:

> No ethnic group under these terms can have the support of the general community in strengthening its boundaries. All boundaries are understood to be permeable. Ethnic nuclei, on the other hand, are respected as enduring centers of social action. . . . (1974, 72-73).

The major point of my stress upon civism is to rediscover exactly what political values we have in common as well as redefining the values of plurality. Another view with merit is a distinction posed by Michael Kammen, Cornell historian. He distinguishes between "stable pluralism" and "unstable pluralism." An unstable pluralism occurs when the cleavages in society threaten the very authority of the polity because of the conflict among racial, ethnic, religious, or regional groups, each of which forms its own political party and has its "own faction, each sect its own school, and each dogmatist his own ideology." On the other hand,

> Stable pluralism requires a strong *underpinning* of legitimacy. A plural society is best insured by the rule of law—law made within the framework of an explicit constitution by elected representatives, executed by a partially autonomous administrative staff, and adjudicated by an independent judiciary. . . .
>
> But stable pluralism in a democracy also requires a strong and lasting inventory of psychological legitimacy: understanding, acceptance, and pervasive confidence in the composite system necessary to make it run smoothly rather than by fits and starts (Kammen 1973, 85).

The building of a "strong and lasting inventory of psychological legitimacy" is one perceptive way to define the purpose of civic education for the schools in a democracy, in which a plurality of racial, ethnic, and religious communities is acknowledged and even welcomed. One need only note the stark contrast between the United States with all its pluralist problems and countries in which unstable pluralism either prevents a psychological legitimacy toward government at all (as in Lebanon), or periodically threatens the stability of the polity (as in India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Northern Ireland, or Spain).

Authority

The role of authority can usefully be illustrated for students at all age levels, ranging from the need for rules on taking turns in the kindergarten to the need for laws on stealing, assault, murder, and treason. At the heart of political authority is the difference between sheer power and legitimate or rightful authority. Power is usually considered to be the ability to exercise control over people or conditions, to direct their conduct or influence the outcome of an event desired by those in positions of power. The most common examples of sheer power to control events are military force and money.

On the other hand, power becomes *legitimate* authority when recognized as such and sanctioned by custom, institutions, law, constitution, or morality. Authority in a democratic polity is thus the exercise of influence and command by those in positions of power when done so within the confines of rules made by the consent of the governed and considered over a period of time as legitimate.

The *right* of an official to make decisions, determine policies, and maintain order derives not from the official's private capacity, but by virtue of a right conferred by society. So the exercise of democratic political authority ideally should be under the constraint of the values of fundamental justice and fairness as well as functioning to ensure the greatest amount of freedom and equal opportunity for the individual under rules of due process and with a fair distribution of privileges and resources in the society. Failing these constraints, authority is corrupted into authoritarianism or totalitarianism. Without authority, freedom degenerates into license or anarchy, pluralism becomes unstable, and individuals can be assured of little privacy or due process.

Leonard Krieger (1977), university professor of history at Chicago, points out that there was another meaning of authority that originated in Rome, a meaning not so much associated with sheer power as with an uncoercive authority associated with persons or knowledge whose trustworthiness and responsibility are a warrant or guarantee that their deliberate judgments, convictions, and decisions are worth following as models or examples. An *auctor* in Latin is a trustworthy writer, a responsible person, a teacher, a guarantor, a model whose ideas and judgments are worth following.

It is this latter sense of authority as trustworthiness that has been so eroded in recent years. Students have revolted against the authority of schools and colleges, against the authority of government officials, against the authority of parents, churches, business, and other institutions that in the past have claimed the right to guide the conduct and behavior of the young. But it is noteworthy that the concept of authority in relation to citizenship has become a matter for serious scholarly study in recent years. I think particularly of the faculty seminars on "Ethical Issues: Citizenship and Political Education" supported by grants from NEH to the American

Political Science Association and directed by Richard Flathman (1981) of Johns Hopkins and J. Roland Pennock (1981) of Swarthmore. Especially pertinent here is the recent book *Democratic Education*, by Amy Gutmann (1987, see especially 3, 116-117, 125, 287-288), professor of politics at Princeton. She locates the authority for cultivating "common democratic values among all children" (in private as well as public schools) in the democratic ideal itself, which she elaborates persuasively in her book. Critical study of such academic fare on authority and citizenship, which is fundamental and necessary but too often is not applied to the theory or practice of civic education, would enable the profession to think of authority as more than orderliness and obedience in the "effective" classroom.

Privacy

Privacy is one of the basic pluralist values of a democratic political community along with freedom, diversity, and due process. I distinguish it from the privatism or excessive privatization of public services (including education), which I view as a corruption of privacy. As freedom includes the right to live one's life in dignity and to seek one's self-development and self-fulfillment, so privacy is the right of individuals and groups to be left alone and to determine for themselves what information about themselves or their actions is communicated to others.

Infringement of this right was one of the most irritating of the eighteenth-century practices that led to the Third Amendment's guarantees against the quartering of troops in private households and to the Fourth Amendment's guarantees that the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures. The revelations of the spying activities of the CIA and FBI on American citizens during the Vietnam War and the campus unrest, the Watergate tapes, and much else have led to new concerns about the protection of privacy. The development of electronic devices has added a *1984* quality to all kinds of business activities (such as computers that keep credit ratings on millions of consumers), as well as those of government agencies. But the right of privacy has moved much beyond matters of information about a person that should be kept private from government or technological surveillance. While the word "privacy" does not appear in the Constitution or Bill of Rights (just as "education" does not), the right of privacy has been brought by the Supreme Court under the heading of freedom in the First Amendment, and of liberty in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments as well as under the Fourth Amendment's protection of the person against search and seizure. The most controversial of these issues in the public eye have had to do with such intimate associations as sexual relations, abortion, and homosexuality.

Although questions of the rights of privacy of students in elementary and secondary schools may once have seemed rather far removed from such constitutional questions, the demands for "teaching values and morality" have proliferated with the rise in juvenile pregnancy and drug abuse among teenagers. And inevitably, the issues of privacy versus authority and moral values versus academic excellence have spilled over in the schools. For example, the celebrated case of *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* (1985) arose when a vice principal in Piscataway High School searched a student's handbag suspecting that she had been smoking in the girls' lavatory, but found evidence of possible use and sale of marijuana. Were her rights to privacy under the Fourth Amendment's protection against search and seizure superior to the authority of school officials to uphold school rules and laws against use and sale of drugs? In a six to three decision, the Supreme Court affirmed a middle course. It ruled that school officials are not acting in place of parents (*in loco parentis*) and thus they do not have all the rights that parents have to control and discipline their children. But it also affirmed that school officials must have "reasonable grounds" for believing that their search of lockers and handbags or persons would provide evidence of breaking the rules or the law. Students therefore do have *some*, but not complete, constitutional rights to privacy, while teachers, not being parents, do have the obligation to apply the Fourth Amendment's protection of privacy to students and thus are in effect "officers of the Constitution."

Due Process

While privacy concentrates on a citizen's being left alone, due process has to do with the rights of persons who have been accused of wrongs or injuries they have allegedly committed. Due process values center on the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Amendments with their presumption of innocence and their provisions for protection of individual rights in criminal cases and civil suits at law. Of special interest to educators has been the development in recent years of the concepts of due process as applied specifically to teachers, students, and parents.

The drive to achieve more protection of due process for children's private rights in the juvenile justice system was directed at students in schools as well as out-of-school youth. The key case here was *Goss v. Lopez*, which involved nine high school students in Columbus, Ohio, who were suspended during racial demonstrations and unrest in 1971 for up to ten days without a hearing, as permitted under Ohio law. The students charged that the law was unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment because it deprived them without due process of their property (their right to attend school) and of their liberty (by injuring their reputation without a hearing). In January 1975, the Supreme Court declared in a five to four decision the law to be unconstitutional and ruled that students in high school were to be granted due process in suspensions. This must include oral or written notice of the charges of misconduct, an explanation of the charges and the evidence against them, and an opportunity to give their side of the story before suspension from school.

The due process rights of children and students could be a subject of study that would quickly enlist the interest of students. Teachers and officials of public schools have now been put on notice that they must be concerned for the due process rights of children as well as their own. They need to be as clear as possible about the relative allocation of authority and responsibility among the parents, the child, and the state whose officers they are. It is now clear that children, as well as adults, have constitutional rights and that the state may not be too intrusive into the parent-child relationship. But the state also has the obligation to protect children, when necessary for the child's welfare, even against the parents if they neglect or abuse the child. Children do not have all the due process rights that adults have, but they do have more than they did before *Goss*.

Property

The purpose of including property rights in a table of civism is not to suggest that students or teachers must take law courses on property or contracts, but rather to recognize the concept of property and private ownership as a basic element in the forming of the American republic and to know some of the fundamental changes that have taken place during the past two hundred years. The emphasis here is not on a course in economics, or free enterprise, or comparative economic systems. Instead, the emphasis is on the rights and responsibilities of ownership of property in a democratic society, the relationship to ownership of individuals, groups, and the state with regard to matters of justice, freedom, equality, authority, privacy, and due process. Rudimentary concepts of "what's mine," "what's yours," and rules about acquiring, using, transferring, and disposing of tangible properties can be developed in early years of schooling, as the materials developed by Law in a Free Society have shown. Rules against stealing, damaging, destroying the property of others and about how arguments should be settled, equity achieved, and by whose authority, play a large part in early schooling. The inclusion of intangible property (such as ideas, benefits, entitlements, or labor) along with tangible property then leads to further consideration of the rights and responsibilities regarding property, the scope and limits of ownership, and other major subjects of legislative and judicial concern.

It is clear that most of the founders believed that property and liberty went hand in hand. The federal Constitution was designed at least in part to free people and property from intrusion by the state governments. Kenneth M. Holland (1986), political scientist at the University of Vermont, describes the new meaning of property increasingly defined under the welfare state to include social benefits and entitlements (including education). He refers to a formative article by Charles A. Reich (1964), that argues that welfare benefits are no longer a charity or government largess, but a new kind of property embracing rights that cannot be withdrawn or withheld without due process of law. There is, of course, much controversy and debate over such broadening of the conception of property rights, whether justified on grounds of due process, privacy, equality, civil liberties, or justice. All the more reason for students and teachers alike to study these issues along with the other tables of civism. All the better to judge how far we have come from the compromise of the Constitution that regarded slaves as three-fifths of a person and the *Dred Scott* decision in which slaves were viewed as non-persons and as tangible, exchangeable property belonging to another, the ultimate corruption of property rights.

Participation

The idea of participation has undergone a great deal of modification since the Declaration of Independence asserted that the just powers of government derive from "the consent of the governed" and since the Preamble of the Constitution proclaimed that "We, the people" are sovereign. Much of the original notion of popular consent and of sovereignty of the people rested on the idea that citizens would participate directly in the making of laws and indeed in the making of the fundamental contract known as the Constitution. But the idea of citizen participation had to change from the days of a Greek *polis,* with its few thousand citizens, or a New England town meeting with its few hundred citizens. Debates over the meaning of *democracy* as direct participation by the entire body of citizens, contrasted to a *republic,* meaning participation through selecting representatives to make decisions, has continued from the Constitutional Convention and *The Federalist* papers down to the present time.

The *idea* of participation as a key value in a democratic political community should be studied and debated by students and teachers along with the *practice* of participatory experience as illustrated in the citizen-participation movement in general and its counterpart in community action programs for students in schools. In addition to political campaigning, voting, and lobbying, "participation" of a more direct and active sort has become increasingly important since the decade of the 1960s. After all, sit-ins, marches, freedom rides, and civil disobedience were a critical part of the practice of participation in the civil rights movement. Draft-card burnings, demonstrations, and disruptions on college campuses highlighted "participatory democracy" when it became a byword of the New Left movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The justification, costs, and benefits of these forms of a more direct participation movement along with those being advanced by thoughtful political scholars should be the subject of careful study and analysis in school civics.

But there is another model of participation that its advocates argue is more appropriate for the conditions of a modern technological society, where issues are so complicated that direct decisions by the masses of citizens cannot be the rule. Rather, it is argued, a *representative* model of participation should be revitalized to take better account of the expertise of professionals who, along with elected officials, are held accountable by the public. In the mid-1970s, a good example of this model, along with criticism of direct participation reforms, was given by the late Stephen K. Bailey (1976, 84-94), political scientist in education and social policy at Harvard.

These arguments should be considered along with the revitalizing of the movement to increase direct involvement of citizens and to increase the effectiveness of direct participation. A growing body of scholarly underpinning for this trend has begun to replace Bailey's undisguised contempt for the "romantic half-truths" of the starry-eyed reformers of the 1960s and the early 1970s. One of the most persuasive of the more recent reformers is Benjamin R. Barber (1984), political scientist at Rutgers, whose *Strong Democracy* has received wide attention. He argues that representative democracy is scarcely democracy at all and that a strong form of participatory democracy of genuine self-government is not only compatible with the Constitution but with the conditions of modern technological society.

Truth

If we accept freedom of access to knowledge as the very basis of a democratic society, then the reliability and the validity of public knowledge become of primary importance. The search for truth becomes one of the major goals of democracy. Therefore, respect for truth should begin with the young child, the parent, and the teacher as they try to distinguish the "small fib" and the "white lie," which, while doing little harm to others, may become the "big lie" that may do irreparable harm to others. Then we come to the distinction between a falsification that arises from ignorance, partial knowledge, or mistake and a falsification deliberately undertaken with the intention to cover up one's own actions, to control the actions or beliefs of others, or to do actual harm to others. Thus, the laws against perjury and libel incorporate into the polity the moral sense that truth is better than lying and that deliberate untruths are punishable for the sake of the common good and public welfare. The study and practice of truth-telling become mandates for civic learning at every stage of education for citizenship, not confined to the courtroom stage of "telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

In this complex and confusing arena of where, how, and why the truth should be told or not told, I can only hint at those aspects deserving careful study. One has to do with the rights and responsibilities of citizens in seeking or telling the truth about one another, but even more important is the role of government in revealing or hiding the truth from its citizens. A vast literature has accumulated, especially since World War II, documenting the ways in which totalitarian nations, both Communist and Fascist, and military dictatorships of virtually every hue have enforced controls over the flow of information and use of falsification and lying when it served the purposes of those in control. Deliberately deceiving the public is the essence of a closed society; every coup is immediately accompanied by closing down newspapers and taking over radio and television stations. We have learned to expect the strangling of truth by dictatorships of the Left and the Right.

Even more troublesome and alarming is the mounting concern about lack of truth-telling by the governments of democratic and free societies. Major examples in the United States stem from deceptions about Vietnam emanating from the government under Lyndon Johnson, the attempted cover-ups of Watergate under Richard Nixon, and the drawn-out investigations about who did and who did not tell the truth about Nicaragua and Iran in 1986 and 1987 under the Reagan administration. When trust in the veracity of the presidency and of major government officials declines, the foundations of a free society are at risk. Citizens who cannot distinguish between significant truth and plausible falsehoods, beguiling half-truths, or outright lies cannot retain their freedom. Nor can a government that lies to its citizens continue to serve justice and equality, maintain its legitimate authority, or even expect loyalty from its citizens.

Patriotism

This is one of the most difficult of the cohesive values to make clear and persuasive to American students and teachers in the light of the traumatic events of the past two decades. Our predecessors from the time of the American Revolution spoke of the individual's obligation for the public good in terms of civic virtue, patriotism, and loyalty to the new emerging nation, as well as duty, discipline, and obedience to moral and religious commands. These were powerful sanctions for civic education programs for generations, but they have been weakened in the past fifty years. The military defense of the nation as a reasonable form of civic obligation probably reached its peak in World War II, when a vast majority of the American people genuinely believed that defense against Nazi and Fascist aggression and the inhuman persecution of minorities justified a moral war. But the Korean War seemed less immediately critical to the safety and security of the United States; and the Vietnam experience convinced large numbers that it was an immoral war and thus not justified as a reasonable cause for patriotism or military service.

A sense of obligation and responsibility manifested by loyalty, patriotism, discipline, and duty is still needed as a social and political glue if the structure of the democratic polity is to persist, let alone thrive. The schools, of course, cannot alone instill values of personal obligation and responsibility if other major social institutions are preaching and practicing advancement of self and private interests, an argument so persuasively advanced by Robert Bellah and his colleagues. But this is no reason for the schools not to try, by reassessing what they *can* do and by seeking the aid of all community and public groups committed to the value claims of the democratic polity.

This was the basic question of substance that neither candidate discussed in the 1988 election. George Bush simply said that he thought it was appropriate for a state legislature to require public school teachers to lead their pupils in the daily pledge of allegiance to the flag (as the Massachusetts legislature had done in 1977). By imputation he charged that Governor Michael Dukakis was weak on patriotism by vetoing the bill. Dukakis at first simply replied that he had followed an advisory opinion of the Massachusetts Supreme Court that the law was unconstitutional; and then later Dukakis replied that he resented the implication that he lacked patriotism by the act of vetoing the bill.

The commentators of press and TV quickly chose up sides, and a few tried to educate the public on the underlying constitutional issues, but the public had not learned the relevant civics lessons in their schooling, and they were not hearing it from the candidates. Why not use the authority of the state to require students and teachers to salute and pledge allegiance to the flag? The answers to that question cover a full century of conflict and controversy.

The pledge was first devised as a promotional scheme for *Youth's Companion* in 1892 in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America. In the patriotic fervor of the Spanish-American War, some of the states and many local school boards began to require the pledge as part of the regular opening exercises of the schools. Fraternal and patriotic organizations favored compulsion; civil liberties and some religious groups opposed, especially the Jehovah's Witnesses who claimed that the compulsory salute to the flag was in effect a worship of an image forbidden to them by the religious teaching of the Bible.

The heightened patriotic fervor of World War I and the approach of World War II led to bitter and even violent attacks upon the Witnesses whose children were expelled from schools for refusing to take part. The Witnesses began to take their case to court in the 1930s resulting in two remarkable decisions.

In *Minersville v. Gobitis* (1940) the issue was clearly and eloquently drawn in an eight to one decision. Writing for the majority, Justice Felix Frankfurter stated,

> A grave responsibility confronts this Court whenever in course of litigation it must reconcile claims of liberty and authority. But when the liberty invoked is the liberty of conscience, and the authority is authority to safeguard the nation's fellowship, judicial conscience is put to its severest test. Of such a nature is the present controversy.

After balancing these "two rights in order to prevent either from destroying the other," Justice Frankfurter came down on the side of political cohesion,

> The ultimate foundation of a free society is the binding tie of cohesive sentiment. Such a sentiment is fostered by all those agencies of the mind and spirit which may serve to gather up the traditions of a people, trans-

> mit them from generation to generation, and thereby create that continuity of a treasured common life which constitutes a civilization. . . .
>
> A society which is dedicated to the preservation of these ultimate values of a civilization may in self-protection utilize the educational process for inculcating those almost unconscious feelings which bind men together in a comprehending loyalty, whatever may be their lesser differences and difficulties. That is to say, the process may be utilized so long as men's right to believe as they please, to win others to their way of belief, and their right to assemble in their chosen places of worship for the devotional ceremonies of their faith are fully respected.

But it was precisely the effort of the state "to coerce these children to express a sentiment which violates their deepest religious convictions" that led Justice Harlan Fiske Stone to dissent from the Court's decision. He came down on the side of the constitutional protections of religious liberty guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments,

> The Constitution may well elicit expressions of loyalty to it and to the government which is created, but it does not command such expressions or otherwise give any indication that compulsory expressions of loyalty play any such part in our scheme of government as to override the constitutional protection of freedom of speech and religion.

But Justice Stone also argued that the state and its schools have alternative ways to promote patriotism without coercing affirmation of belief, namely, by requiring all students to study history and civics.

> [T]here are other ways to teach loyalty and patriotism, which are the sources of national unity, than by compelling the pupil to affirm that which he does not believe and by commanding a form of affirmance which violates his religious convictions. Without recourse to such compulsion, the state is free to compel attendance at school and require teaching by instruction and study of all in our history and in the structure and organization of our government, including the guarantees of civil liberty which tend to inspire patriotism and love of country.

For a short time, therefore, the compulsory flag salute and pledge of allegiance were permissible by Supreme Court ruling. When the children of Jehovah's Witnesses refused to participate, they were persecuted, called traitors, and often maltreated. In 1942 Congress prescribed the wording of the pledge accompanied by the right hand placed over the heart instead of the customary Nazi-like extended right arm. But when the state of West Virginia made the salute and pledge compulsory and scores of students were expelled for failing to comply, another case reached the Supreme Court, which reversed itself in the landmark decision of *West Virginia v. Barnette* (1943).

Justice Robert Jackson wrote the six to three opinion for the Court, in effect adopting the dissenting view in *Gobitis* of now-Chief Justice Stone.

> The issue here is whether this slow and easily neglected route to aroused loyalties [by the study of history and civics] constitutionally may be short-cut by substituting a compulsory salute and slogan. . . .

> National unity as an end which officials may foster by persuasion and example is not in question. The problem is whether under our Constitution compulsion as here employed is a permissible means for its achievement.

Justice Jackson in his ringing conclusion declared that compulsion was not permissible.

> If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. . . .
>
> We think the action of the local authorities in compelling the flag salute and pledge transcends constitutional limitations on their power and invades the sphere of intellect and spirit which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to our Constitution to reserve from all official control.

If George Bush had relied on Frankfurter's arguments in *Gobitis* and his long and eloquent dissent in *Barnette*, and if Michael Dukakis had marshaled Stone's dissent in *Gobitis* and Jackson's opinion in *Barnette*, the substance of the issue raised by the pledge of allegiance in 1988 might have been confronted as a matter of serious public discourse and decision; namely, what is the proper role of public schooling in promoting patriotism. As it was, neither candidate taught the public a useful civics lesson, and the electorate had not learned enough from their civic education in school or college to make informed judgments about the candidates.

It might even have helped to know that Harlan Fiske Stone was a Republican appointed to the Court by Calvin Coolidge and raised to Chief Justice by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Or that the American Bar Association's Committee on the Bill of Rights had joined the American Civil Liberties Union in filing briefs of *amicus curiae* on behalf of Jehovah's Witnesses in both cases. The attempt to paint a simplistic contrast between liberal and conservative might have been tempered by history and civics lessons well taught and well learned in a revitalized civic education covering all twelve democratic values listed in this paper. A coherent, invigorated, substantive program of civic education throughout the school years is the best hope for the development of democratic civic character.

My argument is essentially that loyalty, patriotism, discipline, and duty should be defined in terms of the richest fulfillment of the total set of democratic values in the Twelve Tables of Civism. Fortunately, some liberal as well as conservative scholars are seeking to reformulate the role of education in developing a sense of civic obligation in the meaning of citizenship (see, for example, the list of selected readings at the end of this chapter). The long-term test, however, will be whether American education can strengthen the sense of community and cohesion among succeeding generations through stress upon civic virtue and personal obligation for the public good without weakening the struggle for freedom, diversity, due process, and human rights. The closet door on patriotism may be opening a bit in the academic world and in the public press, but the task of reconstructing the idea of patriotism in citizenship is formidable, and the task of designing and carrying out appropriate educational programs dedicated to "civic consciousness," or "civic intelligence," or "civic learning" is even more monumental.

Human Rights

Today, the obvious interdependence of the world requires that civic virtue or obligation for the public good should encompass a wider and more positive moral element than solely the need to defend the American public order when it is threatened from within our national boundaries or from without. It reminds us that the super-jingoistic patriotism, which in the past has been narrowly conceived as loyalty or obligation to one's own nation, must now be imbued with a broader international outlook that honors the world's diversity of peoples but also seeks a new and larger cohesion based upon the concepts of common human rights.

So I come, finally, to a value for American civic education that requires a basic change in our historical views and values of citizenship. The idea of national citizenship must now take account of the vast changes in the world situation that have occurred since the end of World War II. Increasingly popular terms to define the set of phenomena that began with the term "One World" in the 1940s are now "global interdependence," "global perspectives," or simply "global education."

I recognize that the term "global education" has been attacked by political and religious conservatives on the ground that it sees no superior values in the American way of life and therefore preaches a kind of "moral relativism" or "moral neutrality." I believe that no one could understand the first eleven of my tables of civism and still think that I see no superior values in the ideals of American citizenship. But instead of global education, I advocate the term "international human rights" or simply "human rights" as a device to broaden civic education for Americans and yet not get overwhelmed by trying to cover all aspects of study of all the world's peoples and cultures.

In fact, I come very close to the definition of global education in the report of the Study Commission on Global Perspectives in Education (1987) chaired by Clark Kerr, which outlines what students need to know to function as citizens of the United States in an increasingly interdependent world. The most extensive courses of study along these lines are contained in the two-year program in global studies required in Grades 9 and 10 by the New York State Board of Regents for graduation from high school. The object of such study is partly to understand why it is that some nations and peoples have chosen a different way from that of the United States. But if the world is truly interdependent and if U.S. citizenship is genuinely devoted to democratic values, then global study should be searching for and preferring democratic answers to global issues as well as simply understanding the reasons for diverse views.

The idea and practice of citizenship itself as conceived in various nations could be a major theme for this study. What does citizenship mean for Christians and Moslems in Lebanon, for blacks in South Africa, for Jews and dissidents in the Soviet Union, for ethnic and language groups in India, Sri Lanka, China, or Nigeria, and for new immigrants to the United States? A greater attention to human rights would give opportunities to address the positive aspects of democratic values and the obstacles or threats to such rights in various national approaches to citizenship. There is the danger of trying to do too much in too scattered and superficial fashion, as well as the danger of competition in the school curriculum between civic education, global education, and multicultural education. These three efforts to redirect the school curriculum are often carried on independently of one another. There has been too little effort to interweave the three and too little recognition of their natural affinity. Indeed, they are often disparate, and sometimes even antagonistic, in their pressures on the schools.

Conclusion

The schools have an unparalleled opportunity to influence an entire generation of high school youth during the coming few years. The combination of the Constitution's Bicentennial, the appointment of one or more Supreme Court justices, and the elections of 1988 and 1992 could give unprecedented vitality to close study of basic constitutional issues and principles. Each school jurisdiction will decide for itself how to approach such an agenda in its curriculum, in its governance, and in its pervasive moral life.

But there is one innovative and national project readily at hand that promises to invigorate the civic life of those schools that take part. Between 1987 and 1991 the National Competition on the Constitution and Bill of Rights is being officially co-sponsored by the U.S. Bicentennial Commission and the Center for Civic Education. The competition is among school classes and groups of students rather than among individual students. It is being held in every congressional district and culminates in regional, state, and national awards. Classes prepare for the competition through the use of specially prepared study units on the historical ideas and political concepts underlying the Constitution's framing, adoption, and amendment, with special attention to the Bill of Rights and the changes in constitutional thought that followed ratification.

After completing their study, the classes compete as teams in demonstrating their knowledge and understanding of constitutional principles. Each class completes a qualifying multiple-choice test whose score will represent an average of the scores of all students in the whole class and then participates in a mock Congressional hearing on a series of selected fundamental constitutional issues. As judged by a panel of experts from the community, the combined score on the quality of their presentations at the hearing decides which class will continue in the competition. In both the test and the hearing, the entire class contributes to the preparation for the competition through individual study, group discussion, and other group activities in the school and in the community.

The competition could well motivate students and teachers alike to become much more aware of the need to clarify their own school's practices of authority and due process, freedom and diversity, equality and justice, and patriotism and truth-telling as public goods. In the Washington finals in April 1988, championship teams from forty-three states not only took turns presenting their views orally on a series of important constitutional questions put to them by the judges, but they also engaged in a lively give-and-take by answering follow-up questions from the panel of experts.

These were no stilted classroom exercises learned by rote to be recited from memory from a boring textbook. These high school students, on the verge of becoming voting citizens, discussed key constitutional questions with knowledge, insight, and maturity. Some of the issues dealt with in these "hearings" included the justice of capital punishment; the consequences of civil disobedience; equality of opportunity; freedom of speech and religion or prayer in public schools; the separation of powers and checks and balances in matters of domestic and foreign policy, from Watergate to Nicaragua; judicial activism versus judicial restraint; and the role of due process in matters of life, liberty, and property. They not only know about *Marbury v. Madison*, but also about *Brown v. Board of Education, Roe v. Wade, Engel v. Vitale*, and on and on.

The size and success of this first year of a five-year project (involving 6,000 teachers and 500,000 students) have opened the door to a better civic education for all American youth. It behooves would-be "education presidents," "education governors," and "education legislators" to consider carefully what this and like projects could mean for the future of America. It is a long-term investment in the kind of educational reform that seeks to prepare oncoming generations for informed, responsible, and committed American citizenship.

Whichever political party wins in November, this long-term investment in civism is vital. To this end, a second major national effort is just getting under way to draw up and disseminate an exemplary curriculum framework for instruction in civic education at all levels in elementary and secondary schools. Funded for two years by the Pew Charitable Trusts, the project *Civitas* will be conducted by the Center for Civic Education and the Council for Advancement of Citizenship. The framework will (1) delineate the "fundamental civic principles and values of our constitutional republic," (2) formulate a defensible conception of citizenship embodying the best of our historical traditions but also looking to the future, and (3) indicate examples of democratic values that are especially appropriate for study at various age and grade levels.

Obviously, I applaud the purposes of project *Civitas* and wish it well. It could be a capstone for the educational reform movement of the 1980s. To its goals I have dedicated both of my recent books. I close both books with the same words:

> As the United States embarks upon its third century, the role of education is fortunately regarded as a high priority in our national life. There are clamorous demands that education must sharpen the competitive edge of the United States in the world economy. Others argue that the schools should return to the safe harbors of traditional moral and religious values as embodied in the Judeo-Christian heritage and Western civilization. Still others call for piloting the schools through the uncharted shoals of moral choice by means of cultural literacy, intellectual excellence, or critical thinking. These views have their many persuasive advocates, but I believe there is a still more cogent priority.
>
> This book argues for revitalizing the historic civic mission of American education. This means explicit and continuing study of the basic concepts and values underlying our democratic political community and constitutional order. The common core of the curriculum throughout school and college years should be the morality of citizenship (Butts 1988, 183-184).

We've heard from Paideia, Clio, Excellence, Competitiveness, "Content, Character, and Choice." Now, let's hear it for Civitas. Amy Gutmann (1987) concludes her penetrating analysis of democratic politics and education as follows:

> . . ."political education"—the cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation—has moral primacy over other purposes of public education in a democratic society. Political education prepares citizens to participate in consciously reproducing their society, and conscious social reproduction is the ideal not only of democratic education but also of democratic politics. . . . The most devastating criticism we can level at primary [and secondary] schools, therefore, is not that they fail to give equally talented children an equal chance to earn the same income or to pursue professional occupations, but that they fail to give all (educable) children an education adequate to take advantage of their political status as citizens.

All I can add is a secular amen.

Notes

1. Portions of this paper have been adapted from the final chapters of my two books: *The Morality of Democratic Citizenship: Goals for Civic Education in the Republic's Third Century*, (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1988) and *The Civic Mission of Educational Reform: Perspectives for the Public and the Profession*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1989).

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Ethical and Philosophical Foundations of Democratic Citizenship

Michael Hartoonian

> "What I do is my business. I got pregnant, so what. It's my baby and I'll raise her my way. Besides, who cares? So get off my case!"

These are the words of a sixteen-year-old high school student who recently gave birth to her first child.[1] The statement is presented here not as a judgment on teenage pregnancy nor as a statement of self-assuredness, but as a metaphor of a condition that holds us apart from one another and eats away at the foundation of the republic. The sixteen-year-old senses her isolation from the social system and moves away, while society sees the corruptible nature of the individual and works to segregate her with welfare and education programs that can belittle and debase, and with laws and language that have the potential to victimize. In a word, this condition can best be described as amoral, neither moral nor immoral, lacking in ethical standards.[2]

What follows is the advancement of the argument that the condition of amorality may be the result of our inability as individuals and as a society to understand the relationship between the public and private life of the citizen, and the attending role and function of ethics in that relationship. The argument turns on three premises. First, that we have developed a sort of cultural amnesia. That is, we seem to have forgotten the historical and philosophical foundations upon which the republic is constructed. Second, that our society has fostered isolation, privatism, and libertarianism at the expense of democracy and capitalism. And, third, that our pursuit of selfgratification, while seemingly rational, is detrimental to our philosophical tradition, and to the web of meaning, social theory, and social relationships which are necessary for personal well-being.

Cultural Amnesia

In the nineteenth century, there was a common greeting exchanged between merchant sailing ships who passed each other on the high seas. They would ask of one another: Who are you? What is your destination? Who is your captain? This greeting can serve us today as an analogue for asking some fundamental questions about our collective memory. Who are we? What social theories do we hold? What conception of human nature do we accept? Cultural amnesia develops when we stop trying to find out who we are and what is expected of us. That is, who we are as ethical beings, individually and as a nation. As a point of entry into our cultural heritage, consider James Madison's statement about virtue and "the people":

> I go on this great republican principle, that the people will have virtue and intelligence to select men of virtue and wisdom. Is there no virtue among us? To suppose that any form of government will secure liberty or happiness without any virtue in the people is an absurd idea (*The Federalist* No. 55).

The notion that common, individual people could be reservoirs of virtue, as opposed to virtue being vested in a king or the aristocracy, was and may still be a radical political concept. Yet at our nation's birth it was an idea supported by men as politically different as Hamilton and Jefferson. Using the writings of Locke, Montesquieu, Hume, and even Machiavelli, the founders of the American Republic set in motion a radical change in the traditional ideas that people held about good government, human character, and civic virtue. The classical notion of virtue claimed that the highest goals of politics, goals such as freedom and empire, will ultimately encourage ambition and a vulgar prestige (MacIntyre 1984). Virtue in the pursuit of power, empire, or even freedom turns ultimately to vice, because in the classical conception virtue cannot be a means to an end; it is an end in itself. In this view, virtues such as courage, temperance, and justice are important in and of themselves; as such, they give life its purpose. While these virtues may help promote safety and prosperity in a society, they are esteemed in the classical sense as good in their own right, and not necessarily useful in the pursuit of safety, prosperity, or liberty. Over and against this attitude, perhaps the most important intellectual notion of our revolutionary period was a change in this meaning of virtue. The classical conception was transformed, and virtue became a force or a way to build a better society, a society that would place emphasis upon individual dignity and integrity. The founders believed that the individual should be the source of virtue, and this principle paved the way for Americans to conceptualize virtue as the underpinning for both their economic and civic worlds. This new understanding of virtue became basic to our work in constructing a new social theory of who we were and who we were to be.

Within the economic world, it was clear that property, prosperity, and the attitudes needed to succeed in business and commerce were part of the American system of virtue. Individual virtue expressed itself in an "adventurous entrepreneurship" that distinguished our commercial character. But, this individual expression should not be seen as a self-centered conception of the world or the market. On the contrary, the individual saw himself or herself as part of the community where cooperation and dependability (industry) drove economic behavior. This understanding of the individual and community can be seen in two important theoretical statements made in 1776. The first, by Adam Smith, in his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, articulated the concept of "self-interest properly understood." This means that if the individual understands the true nature of self-interest he or she will try to ensure the health of the community, for the free market cannot function if the infrastructure is weak, particularly if it is ethically weak. Adam Smith's "invisible hand" of the marketplace can only function if driven by a visible conscience.

The second statement, Jefferson's *Declaration of Independence*, presents us with the concept of public happiness. This concept also includes attributes of both individual and community. The founders believed that happiness should be understood as "public" happiness; that is, a virtue tied to the ability and willingness to participate in the public life of the community. This was much more than economic participation. This source of happiness was defined as giving of oneself and one's resources for the betterment of the community. Happiness and service are concepts rooted and linked in our heritage. Both Pericles and Marcus Aurelius, for example, agreed that while it was right to serve your city—the right, and even the good thing to do—the best reason for service was the joy it gave (Weiner 1974). Thus, the citizen of the new republic was to embrace both concepts of the public good and individual dignity as defining attributes of virtue, and in so doing it would become, at least theoretically, difficult to separate personal/economic virtue from social/civic virtue. They were both seen as necessary conditions for the role of citizen, particularly if the citizen was to be engaged in the "pursuit of happiness."

Within the civic world of power and legitimacy, one important discussion at the end of the eighteenth century centered on the question of how virtue was to be reflected in the people. In the classical view, the aristocracy rules because through education they have the greatest potential for virtue and, therefore, the clearest title to participate in government. The aristocracy does not serve the people in the sense of obeying the people, but rather serves to guide them toward a better way of life. On the other hand, the leaders of the new republic viewed the question of "who rules" as a function of the "voice of the majority," and allowing the majority of the people significant power in government (even if in the beginning the majority meant white men over the age of twenty-one) calls for popular education; education that would develop quiet courtesy with high purpose. Requiring rulers to gain the consent of the governed is a mighty bulwark against tyranny, even the tyranny of the majority, if, and only if, the people understand the role of virtue in public life.

> I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but with the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take power from them, but to inform their discretion through *instruction* (Thomas Jefferson to William Charles Jarvis 28 September 1820).

As we moved from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century, it became clear that to help secure life, liberty, and public happiness it would be necessary to address and establish two ideas that were and still are necessary conditions for the maintenance of the republic. First of all, a system of checks and balances (including a bill of rights) would be implemented, thus placing one person's ambition in the way of another's ambition.

Second, education would be provided to all citizens so they might develop a reservoir of virtue. However, the founders were extremely uneasy about the feebleness of civic education in the new order. Jefferson, particularly, argued long and eloquently that education for enlightened citizenship was the first responsibility of the republic and particularly of the states. To this end, he effectively proposed educational reforms for the state of Virginia as well as for the young nation. On this same theme, George Washington wanted a national academy for the training of political leaders. Even the Bill of Rights, appended to the Constitution, was viewed not only as a condition for ratification, but as a way for future generations to educate themselves in civic responsibilities (virtue). In a real sense it was our first civics curriculum.

The dual concepts, then, of education and checks on ambition were to serve the republic in the development of virtue. That is, a self-critical, self-correcting ability coupled with an enlightened sense of statehood or enlightened nationalism would constitute our civic/economic foundation.

It seems clear that the republic's major underlying premise was the belief that virtue and education would work together and would reinforce each other. Individuals would be virtuous if, and only if, they were educated in civic conscientiousness and have opportunities to share their wisdom with others working for the improvement of society. Education's first goal was, and is today, the development of individual dignity and the public good together. The centrality of virtue in education is made most explicit in this idea. Cultural amnesia occurs when we forget this premise and its link to our cultural heritage. Ideas such as public happiness, self-interest properly understood, and virtue are all necessary if we are to address these questions: Who are we? In what direction does our public policy point us? What values drive our civic behavior?

Privatism and Capitalism

The notion that capitalism, through competition, is primarily a system that isolates people from one another both belittles capitalism and confuses competition with privatism—the idea that you can "make it" alone using your own rules. Further, this confusion sets in motion and perpetuates the idea that morality can exist in a climate where people are basically alone. Morality and being alone is a philosophical and ethical contradiction. Even though one cannot delegate a moral decision, neither can one be ethical alone; for ethical behavior needs a context of interactions with others as well as with the larger environment:

> As Robert Bellah and his associates have pointed out, the idea of the "unencumbered self reveals nothing of the shape moral character should take, the limits it should respect, and the community it should serve"and, it might be added, of the political/economic obligations of a citizen in a self-governing society. Thus, the concept of value as arising from or implicit in one's own inner feelings and psychic needs, though attractively pluralistic, open-minded, and releasing, is also in the end vacuous and asocial in a way that impoverishes rather then fulfills the human potential for moral and political life (Ketchum 1987).

The capitalist must pay particular attention to the ways in which our institutional environments—the places in which we live and work—foster competition and cooperation. We shape these institutional environments, then they shape us—ethically. In a larger sense we need to understand the interrelationships between competition and cooperation and the dysfunctions of isolation, privatism, and individualism in the economic system. Indeed, *private* or *free enterprise* may be a contradiction in terms. We are beginning to learn this lesson from both the Japanese and Europeans, as well as from the historical roots of capitalism found in Adam Smith's writings. As he has argued, the highest value of the economic person (self-interest) is only functional if it is understood as *enlightened* self-interest. While Smith disagreed, somewhat, with Dr. Hutcheson, one of his mentors, who held that the practice of benevolence was the only way to stamp virtue upon the individual, Smith (1759) did agree that the virtues most important to the health of the economy are sobriety, industry, justice, and fortitude. These virtues serve the self but they are also qualities that in the long run support the free market and state. He would, no doubt, go beyond the notion of cooperation manifested in quality circles or management teams to the idea that the "economic man" is, and must be, first of all, an ethical person. Those who would say that Smith did not pay much attention to these values must be careful to see Smith's work within its historical setting. *The Wealth of Nations* was basically a political and philosophical statement that was meant to be used to bring down the economics of feudalism and launch a more modern social period. By today's standards it is a rather regressive economic position that could not see the nature of the modern, multinational, global economy.

It was, however, for its time, remarkable, and in its vision not unlike our Declaration of Independence or Constitution. That is, they were all political/philosophical statements. The Constitution, particularly, in its statement on slavery, for example, is regressive and shameful, but taken as a whole and as a political statement it was forward looking and one that provided a framework for ethical growth through its amendment process and through judicial review. What is important for us to understand today is that the history of the rise of capitalism, while marked with unjust episodes and institutions, and often saddled with extraneous ideologies like Social Darwinism, is still rooted in enlightened self-interest. Enlightenment meaning that if the economic person does not care for the health of the community, the market itself will die. It is a simple lesson sometimes only dimly understood by citizens, but its power is in its truth. The community not only needs a healthy infrastructure, but more importantly, an ethical context that implies, for example, that when we shake hands on a deal, we have struck an ethical contract.

Any institution or person who cannot see the truth in the need to care for the community (and in many cases that includes the globe) as well as the truth in the need to link the ethical and economic person is no friend of capitalism. Competition is fine so long as it stays within the ethical boundaries of those virtues clearly delineated by philosophy and practice. Virtues such as justice, sobriety, fortitude, benevolence, industry (not only hard work, but good work), and temperance are not within the domain commonly understood as privatism—the "rugged individual" of frontier fame. The so called "rugged" individuals who succeeded paid careful attention to and cooperated with others, and together, they also paid attention to ethical principles. If they got out of line, either with one another or with principles of virtue, they would lose. One way or another and in the long run, they would lose. From producing poor products to polluting the environment; from Watergate to Iran-Contra to the Pentagon scandal, they lose. "Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles" (Ralph Waldo Emerson [1841] 1909). And, nothing can bring you economic well being but the triumph of principles, which are consistent with our philosophical traditions and help us define the nature of the good citizen.

Philosophy and Citizenship

The relationship between citizenship and education on the one hand, and between philosophy and education on the other, strongly suggests a symbiotic or mutually beneficial link between and among them. The citizen of a free republic must be schooled or educated in those areas of knowledge, skills, and dispositions, which, in their practice, define the essence of philosophy. The claim made here is that the essence of philosophy and citizenship is found in criticism, meaning, and love. This trilogy integrates the meaning and practice of enlightened citizenship.

Criticism, meaning, and love are parts of the same whole. Each of the three ideas defines itself in terms of the others. The notion is not unlike the trilogy advanced by Plato in regard to the concept of justice. In the dialogue between Meno and Socrates (see Plato *Dialogues* 1937), Socrates defines justice in terms of temperance and courage. That is, an understanding of justice is possible only within the context of temperance and courage; to be just is to be courageous and temperate. To be courageous is to be just and temperate, and so on. The defining qualities of one value are held within other values. This notion of defining one value in terms of other values holds for the qualities of citizenship as well as for the elements developed within the discipline of philosophy (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*; Plato, *Republic*; and their other works, any edition). If we address the three values of love, criticism, and meaning as an inclusive set that defines the necessary attributes of citizenship, we can better understand the significant concepts and issues that tie together philosophy and citizenship. It should be noted, however, that in doing so certain contradictions, such as a preference for rationalism as well as a reliance upon the transcendence of formal logic; a separation of value from fact, as well as the combining of these notions, will be seen. But philosophy, as other human creations, is tied to the discourse of temporality and over time succumbs to the vicissitudes of will and chance.

Let us begin our journey into the trilogy through the idea of love. Montesquieu writing in *Spirit of the Laws* stated, "A government is like everything else; to preserve it, we must love it" (1977, 32). Within western thought the ancient Greeks provided us with language that exercised great influence on the modes of expression and discourse associated with the concept of love. The Greeks had many words for love, which related to its importance in their life. From friendship (*philia*) to passion (*eros*) to high affection (*agape*), the Greeks (Heraclitus, sixth century B.C.; Empedocles, fifth century B.C.) established love as the physical principle (unifying agent) of the universe. Heraclitus believed that there were two forces in nature—repulsion and attraction—and he held that love (*harmonia*) results from the tension of opposites. Empedocles held that similar phenomena attracted, but the results of the process of attraction are the same. The notion of the same and other, Greek and Barbarian, one and the many, is at the center of political/economic debate and manifests itself in questions of equity and justice. It was also the center of Plato's arguments on human discourse—the problem of opposition between the Singular and the "infinite" Dyad, and of their reconciliation and unity. Love was the agent of true discourse, and the function of unification was its definition. The role of love, if we can think of a concept as playing a role, is one of unifying the parts from the reconciliation of Singular and Dyad, to the concept of "many in one" (*E Pluribus Unum*). Love is necessary in keeping the union a union, and in keeping a market fair or just.

Within the concept of love, we can also see another important attribute of citizenship—loyalty. Loyalty, as part of our understanding of love, can be traced back to Deuteronomy (6:5), "You shall love your God with all your heart." Israel is to have one loyalty—one love or unifying force. In Leviticus (19:18) this idea is extended to one's neighbor, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (see also Matthew 22:37-40, and Luke 10:27-28). The individual was to be loyal and love God, her own soul, and her neighbors.

The concept of love and its application to the state or country (other citizens) and even to the land has also been made explicit over time:

> It is also true that the victorious man's conduct is often guided by the *love* of his friends and of his country and that he will, if necessary, lay down his life in their behalf (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*).

> These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now deserves the *love* and thanks of men and women (Paine 1979, 156).

> That land is a commodity is the basic concept of ecology, but that land is to be *loved* and respected is an extension of ethics (Leopold 1949, xix).

While love and loyalty to one's soul, one's self, one's neighbors, and one's environment are necessary attributes of the good citizen, it is also the case that the whole business of civic loyalty must be viewed with skepticism—particularly by the democratic citizen. Great injustices can be perpetrated in the name of love, if not in love itself. So if citizens are to pursue justice and truth, to say nothing of friendship, our second value in the necessary attributes of enlightened citizenship—criticism—must be engaged.

Criticism within the context of democratic/capitalistic citizenship yields a comprehensive understanding of reality. Criticism presumes a philosophic world view that lends direction and predisposes civic behavior in the pursuit of more just goals and relationships between the individual (or family) and the state. Criticism is concerned with judgments about self, education, existence, values, and thinking itself. Civic and economic criticism, by definition, means clear communication among citizens. That is, criticism is only possible when citizens respect standards of clarity, truth, and human dignity. Empathetic listening is as important as the right of free speech. But criticism goes beyond clarity to embrace the concept of courage. It simply takes courage to act on standards of truth, clarity, and human dignity.

Civic and economic criticism carry at least three interrelated behaviors. First, the citizen must value, observe, and absorb the social culture of the state or society so as to "bring in" a more complete picture or a more "true impression of the situation." (We should note the contradictory nature of the phrase "true impression.") This calls for the ability to take in information, impressions, and arguments, and conceptualize the setting within a temporal and spatial context complete with explicit as well as subtle issues, promises, and problems. Next, the citizen must be able to react to the setting. That is, she or he must be a countervailing force, or at least an asker of questions. These questions should probe the consciences of self and others as part of the search for the just society. Finally, the citizen must judge. Judgments must be made of policy, political leaders, and self. It is particularly important that the citizen of the republic develop a critical view of the political economy even though in the modern world this is extremely difficult:

> Most men decide to accept one notion rather than another because of certain superficial and extraneous traits which they consider to be more in conformity with truth than with falsehood and which are easily dis-

> cernible; whereas solid and essential reasons which reveal truth are difficult to come by. Hence, since men are prone to follow the easier course, they almost always take the side on which these superficial traits are apparent (Bayle 1976).

It is this proneness for superficiality that is dangerous to the republic and why criticisms, even of personal behavior, are so vital to the health of the state. But, people will lovingly criticize only those institutions, ideas, and people in which they find personal meaning.

Meaning is achieved through engagement. Engagement means being intensively involved with others in common activities, commonly perceived as good for self as well as for others so engaged. Meaning may be at the heart of happiness as well as at the heart of citizenship. Meaning and citizenship seem linked at two significant points. One has to do with settings, and the other with rhetoric. There are contextual limits to all human discourse and endeavors. With regard to the former, the conceptual limitations of meaning are fundamentally setting and time, or, in terms of receiving meaning from the utterances of others, convention and circumstance. Paraphrasing Habermas, Cherryholmes (1985) suggests that meaning resides in what the speaker is engaged in, and what the individual is counting on hearing. To be meaningful, communication must rest on truth, rightness, truthfulness, and comprehensibility. But, these elements of rhetoric will "work" only within a homogeneous context in which norms and expectations are shared. We could even add discipline and logic to rhetoric to obtain a more complete notion of discourse and still fall short of the definition of meaning that ties together love and criticism. Meaning in this more complete sense addresses not only the context of discourse but discloses those human visions, social theories, and belief systems (ideologies) that illuminate as well as disguise and conceal the ethical acts of people. Meaning cuts through to the moral bone of society, baring the collective nerve, and exposing such questions as: Who rules? Why? What rules should we follow? Why should we obey them? Will obeying rules lead me to the good life? What social theories should we follow? Where did (do) they (social theories) originate? How do these social theories stand up in the light of social facts?

When democracy and capitalism are understood as complimentary systems, love, criticism, and meaning serve as their philosophical roots. These ideas, in turn, rest on the notion that people work together not only within social systems, but within ethical systems. One cannot exist without the other.

Cultural Patterns and Education

There is a fascinating story told of a young Australian Aboriginal boy on his "walkabout," a test of manhood for which he is sent into the desert to find his way through a series of water holes, thus proving himself ready as a warrior or die in trying. He has nearly completed his journey when he comes upon two young British children, brother and sister, who are sole survivors of an airplane crash. Lost and hungry, they face certain death until the young Aboriginal discovers them. They gradually overcome the difficulties of language difference, and the Australian boy teaches them how to find food, water, and shelter. For a time, all goes well until a tragic misunderstanding develops. Mary, the sister, decides to help the Aboriginal overcome his nakedness, so she removes her panties and gives them to him. Her brother finds the Aboriginal's appearance in girls' panties obviously ludicrous and begins laughing and jumping up and down. The combination of the panties gift and the young British boy's antics suggest the need for a native dance to the Aboriginal, and he responds in a rather frenzied fashion, so frenzied, in fact, that he snaps the elastic in the panties and the panties fall to the ground. James V. Marshall then elaborates:

> And once again he was naked; for at the moment of climax the elastic of the panties had snapped and the gift—symbol of civilization—under his feet, trampled into the desert sand.
>
> White girl and black boy, a couple of yards apart, stood staring at one another.
>
> The girl's eyes grew wider and wider.
>
> The bush boy's eyes widened too. He realized, quite suddenly, that the larger of the strangers wasn't a male: she was a lubra, a budding gin.
>
> He took a half-pace forward. Then he drew back, appalled. For into the girl's eyes there came a terror such as he'd seen only a couple of times before; a terror that could for him have only one meaning, one tragic and inevitable cause. He began to tremble then, in great, uncontrolled, nervejerking spasms. For to him, the girl's terror could only mean one thing: that she had seen in his eyes an image: the image of the Spirit of Death.
>
> To the bush boy everything had its appointed time. There was a time to be weaned, a time to be carried in arms; a time to walk with the tribe, a time to walk alone; a time for the proving-of-manhood, a time for the taking of gins. A time for hunting, and a time to die. These times were preordained. They never overlapped. A boy couldn't walk before he's been weaned; couldn't take a gin before his manhood had been proved. These things were done in order.
>
> This was why the question of the girl's sex had never interested the bush boy. Didn't interest him now. For in his tribal timetable he had only arrived at the state of walking along: the state of walkabout, the test of manhood.
>
> It was this test that the bush boy was now engaged in. He had been doing well: had covered the most difficult part of the journey. Yet he wasn't, it seemed, to be allowed to finish it. For the lubra had looked into his eyes and seen the Spirit of Death.
>
> Death was the Aboriginal's only enemy, his only fear. There was for him no future life: no Avalon, no Valhalla, no Islands of the Blest. That perhaps was why he watched death with such unrelaxing vigilance; that certainly was why he feared it with a terror beyond all "civilized" comprehension. That was why he now stood in the middle of the Sturt Plain, trembling and icecold, his body beaded in little globules of sweat.

> Peter looked in amazement, first at the bush boy then at his sister. He couldn't grasp what was happening; couldn't understand how things had gone so suddenly and terribly wrong. Afraid, his recently-acquired confidence quite drained away, he reached for his sister's hand. Then, unexpectedly, he started to cry. To the bush boy the little one's tears were confirmation: confirmation of what the lubra had seen. He turned away. He left the *worwora* at the edge of the billabong; he left the lace-edged panties by the ashes of last night's hearth. Slowly he walked away into the desert (Marshall 1924, 7).

Addicted to cultural patterns that channel human energies into rutted and fixed behaviors, the two young Britishers are unable to acclimate themselves to their situation well enough to see either the causes for or consequences of their predicament. Indeed, their ignorance of this facet of human nature costs them their lives.

Like the two young Britishers, we too seem channeled by the paradigms we operate within. The paradigmatic human is a fact of life and one that we must understand, and understand with some urgency. Given the dynamics of our global natural and social systems, we must develop a perspective that will allow us a more comprehensive view of ourselves and our world, a mind-set that will see self-interest and the common good as parts of the same idea.

The young woman cited at the beginning of this essay, who gave birth to her first child, is locked into a particularly limited paradigm, as are the legal, economic, and political systems that picture her in a restricted way. Until we can develop a broader, more inclusive mind-set—that constitutes the ethical perspective—most of us in this rapidly changing world will continue to be channeled in ways that are detrimental to our republic and to ourselves. It is this need for perspective that brings us face to face with educational policy and citizenship.

The argument made here is that this ethical perspective may best be achieved by direct instruction, including the behavior (modeling) of adults. Paraphrasing Thomas Jefferson we might say, ". . . and if the people are indiscreet (without virtue), the appropriate action is not to take power from them, but to enrich and enhance their reservoir of virtue through education." The education that enhances and enriches the reservoir of virtue must directly address the basic principles of the republic—of democracy and capitalism—including an understanding of public happiness, enlightened self-interest, justice, and industry (craftsmanship). This education must deal with the nature of knowledge, truth, and how we think about knowledge and truth. Above all, this type of education should manifest the belief and practice that one is educated not to become better off; one is educated to become better!

If we focus on the goals of knowledge, truth, thinking, and becoming better (moving toward virtue), then our school programs will have to establish as their first goal the exploration of the dynamics between social/personal principles and the facts of the so-called "real world." That is, a dialog is needed between the ideals of society and reality—between social theory and gross facts. For the ideal and real to be in sparking communication, educators must get beyond naive realism (the belief in certainty and one truth) and multiple rationalism (the belief in no truth or complete relativism) to an understanding of construct validity (Cherryholmes 1986) (the belief that if we study social theory [principles] as well as the empirical settings in question, and try to move society toward those principles, we may bring more meaning and justice into the lives of citizens of the republic).

Barbara Tuchman (1978) articulates this situation when she writes about fourteenth-century Europe. The parallels to our contemporary world cannot be missed by the reader, but the important idea is the discrepancy between principles and practice. From our vantage point today, educators should see the relevancy of this dynamic to citizenship education.

> Chivalry, the dominant political idea of the ruling class, left as great a gap between ideal and practice as religion. The ideal was a vision of order maintained by the warrior class and formulated in the image of the Round Table, nature's perfect shape. King Arthur's knights adventured for the right against dragons, enchanters, and wicked men, establishing order in a wild world. So their living counterparts were supported, in theory, to serve as defenders of the Faith, upholders of justice, champions of the oppressed. In practice, they were themselves the oppressors, and by the fourteenth century the violence and lawlessness of men of the sword had become a major agency of disorder. When the gap between ideal and real becomes too wide, the system breaks down. Legend and story have always reflected this (Tuchman 1978, xx).

Is the gap between ideals and practice too wide today? Where do we find and develop our social principles? How can we bring more congruency between the social theory of America and the facts of everyday life?

These questions can be addressed by students and educators. All of us can develop social theory statements based upon our understanding (historical and contemporary) of such documents as the Declaration of Independence, the preamble to the Constitution, Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech, and so forth. Students can also assess current social/personal circumstances and develop policy statements that can help bring social theory and practice closer. This type of general pedagogical strategy can also help students become better at constructing personal and public policies, as well as focus on the future and on the ethical health of the republic. It can place before them the opportunity to confront the meaning of Proverbs 29:18, "Where there is no vision the people perish." In its original Aramaic or Northwest Semitic language context (Anderson 1957) and even in the Greek translation, the word *vision* meant virtue. That is, "Where there is no *virtue* the people perish." Metaphorically, we might understand the importance of virtue and ethics to social, economic, political, and legal systems by envisioning an iceberg. The ice above the waterline can represent our visible social and cultural institutions, while the ice below the water is analogous to our philosophical and ethical systems. The constellation of values within the latter keeps the social institutions buoyed-up. While invisible to the passing ship the quantity of ice below the water is larger than that which we see above. It is also the case that the visible ice on top of the water cannot exist without the invisible below. In a similar vein, our social, economic, political, and legal systems are visible and viable only so long as the "foundation" values are functioning.

Every society and culture has its operational, philosophical, and ethical systems. The issue is never the existence of values, but the nature of those values. Do they illuminate the best of human hope, faith, courage, integrity, and compassion, or do they deny the universality of the human spirit? Such a denial, of course, separates and belittles the different and the unique among us. Such a denial skews power and resources into the hands of the few and the very few. Such a denial also betrays the future and ignores the past by failing to cherish human beings and their accumulated wisdom. Within the context of a democratic republic, education, by definition, means the movement toward this wisdom (virtue/vision).

To enhance our discussion and help move educational content and practice toward virtue we might ask:

1. What knowledge is of most worth?
2. Who/what do I love?
3. How can I achieve happiness and freedom?
4. What obligations do I have to my parents (past); to my children (future)?
5. What obligations do I have to my community?
6. What is a good person? A good society?
7. How can education help a person become better?
8. Can a political, economic, legal, or social system have a conscience?
9. How can social institutions become more ethical?
10. What social theories do I hold?
11. What facts about our society and the world support my social theories? How do I know?

The willingness to discuss and act on such questions might help us move toward virtue. If we could progress toward the best we can be, perhaps our young high school student above, who feels alone, and the institutions that fail to understand the contextual situation in which she lives, might yet come together; leave the amorality of separation and walk into the light of wisdom. We should have the courage to see where our imagination would lead us if we would allow such questions to be our educational guide.

Notes

1. Identification of this woman is withheld by request.
2. See any dictionary of the American language.

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Paradox and Promise in Citizenship Education: A Reaction to Butts and Hartoonian

James S. Leming

Any thoughtful educational endeavor with children, if it is to be successful, involves the consideration of four important questions. First, what is the goal or objective? Second, what content (knowledge, dispositions, values, behaviors, and skills) must be taught to achieve this goal? Third, what is the most effective method to teach this content? And finally, how will we judge if we have achieved our goal? In this paper I will use the papers by Butts (1988) and Hartoonian (1988) as a jumping off point to discuss these questions as they relate to citizenship education during early adolescence. In doing so I will briefly summarize what I see as the papers' contribution to the questions above. A paradox at the heart of citizenship education will be presented. Finally, I will attempt to resolve this paradox, and in doing so sketch out what I see as criteria necessary for a successful citizenship program for early adolescence.

The papers by Butts and Hartoonian focus primarily on the first two questions presented above; they touch only on the third. The fourth question is not discussed. Both papers argue that the primary goal of citizenship education is to develop an enlightened allegiance to the basic principles of our civic culture. Butts speaks of an "inventory of psychological legitimacy" that involves an understanding, acceptance, and persuasive confidence in the system. At the core of this commitment, he argues, is the value of justice. That is, only when liberties are distributed equally can a common civic culture exist. When liberties are distributed unequally, confidence and affect toward the culture will be shaken, and the culture itself will be at risk.

Hartoonian discusses the desirability of a sense of loyalty and connectedness among the populace that is based on a shared ethical perspective by which the individual reconciles the gap between self-interest and community welfare. This ethos recognizes that no man is an island unto himself but that his welfare and the welfare of others are bound inextricably together. For Hartoonian justice is also an important value that underpins this reconciliation of individual and collective interests. Both Butts and Hartoonian see the core of this enlightened loyalty as resting upon a rational commitment to root democratic values and an understanding of how these values contribute to the maintenance of our civic culture and its reproduction.

As Butts points out, the lists that have been put forth as representing the constellation of democratic values are as varied as the number of lists. Comparing the Butts' Decalogue of Democratic Civic Values with Hartoonian's list of the virtues rooted in capitalism (justice, sobriety, fortitude, benevolence, industry, and temperance) reminds us of the wide range of perspectives from which to view the goals of citizenship education. A recent excellent contribution to the practice of citizenship education for early adolescents, Lockwood and Harris's (1985) *Reasoning with Democratic Values,* lists eight democratic values that have come into conflict within the context of U.S. history: authority, equality, liberty, life, loyalty, promise keeping, property, and truth. While five of Lockwood and Harris's eight values appear on Butts' list, only five of Butts' twelve values appear on Lockwood and Harris's list. Such comparisons could be made ad infinitum within the literature in citizenship education.

Given the diversity of opinion regarding the number and content of a list of basic democratic values, attempts to hierarchically order any such list also reflect a diversity of perspectives. Butts, after Rawls (1971), assigns a superordinate place to justice as at the heart of democracy. While I do not wish to unnecessarily obfuscate the dialogue over the nature of the democratic values to be taught in schools, Gunnar Myrdal's (1944) analysis of the central democratic values in the United States represents a valuable perspective on the issue. His list consists of

- worth and dignity of the individual,
- equality,
- inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,
- consent of the governed,
- majority rule,
- rule of law,
- due process of law,
- community and national welfare,
- rights to freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, and private association.

Newmann (1970), using Myrdal's creed values as the basis of a curricular approach to the analysis of public issues, argues persuasively, I believe, that although creed values cannot be ordered into a specific hierarchy, some values may be considered to be more fundamental than others because their implementation can fulfill a more basic and superordinate value, individual human dignity. The primary contribution of the creed values to democratic society is that they help define the somewhat general term human dignity and suggest a means for achieving it. The concept of "human dignity" emphasizes the worth of each person because he/she is a person. The sense of individual worth can, in turn, be defined as a composite of several criteria: the ability to make choices that affect one's life (career, religion, politics, or family relations), guarantees of physical protection of life and property, equal treatment under the law, ability to defend oneself against prosecution by the state, etc. The discussion above of the creed values of Myrdal, and Newmann's analysis of those values, is not in any way to diminish the insightful contribution of Butts, but rather to point out that there exists a variety of possible ways to depict and order our core values. One of the many challenges of citizenship education is to decide which of these values are to be placed at the heart of the curriculum and if any particular list or organization of these values is preferable to any other. Perhaps, as Hartoonian suggests, an important goal of citizenship is the development of an ethical perspective in which one sees his/her relationship clearly between self and society. Simply a list of values, independent of a rationale for their existence, will not lead to a complete understanding. From Butts' perspective, justice lies at the heart of social cohesion in a democratic society. For Hartoonian, democratic values must relate self interest and the public good to each other. For Myrdal and Newmann, human dignity is the superordinate value from which other values must be derived and from which patterns of public life must ultimately be judged.

Assuming that some list, for pedogogical purposes, can be agreed upon and it can be accompanied by, as Hartoonian argues, a social theory that relates these values to social purposes, how then are these values and this perspective to be conveyed to youth? It was not within the scope of the Butts and Hartoonian papers to discuss this question in detail; however, a brief review of their arguments will reveal what I will refer to as the "Paradox of Citizenship Education." This paradox, and the line of argument behind it, is not new. I am indebted to R. S. Peters' (1974) analysis of this problem from the perspective of moral education and Gutmann's (1987) recent analysis of the goals and practice of democratic education for the perspective presented below.

According to Butts (arguing after Kammen 1973) a stable pluralism in democratic society requires a strong and lasting inventory of psychological legitimacy—understanding, acceptance, and pervasive confidence in the system. At the same time, youth must be prepared to judge the merits of public policies, that is, to judge discrepancies between morality in public talk and personal practice. This deliberative component of citizenship education is not, according to Butts, developed by any simple formulas of preachments or role modeling. Hartoonian, when discussing the need for developing an ethical perspective as a goal of citizenship education, argues that this is to be accomplished best by means of direct instruction, including the behavior (modeling) of adults. This ethical perspective, revealed through the study of history, is the basis on which students develop social theory statements. These social theory statements are used in turn to evaluate the extent to which current policy, leaders, and self measure up to democratic ideals. The inescapable conflict present at the heart of citizenship education in the Butts and Hartoonian papers centers on the objective to develop deliberative and critical-minded citizens who at the same time have a profound and lasting commitment to the root values of democracy. The paradox of citizenship education is that the independent and autonomous deliberative perspective of the mature democratic citizen must, if commitment to root values is present, grow out of the necessarily imposed morality of the adult world. Gutmann notes that "moral education begins by winning the battle against amoralism and egoism. And ends—if it ends at all—by struggling against uncritical acceptance of the moral habits and opinions that were the spoils of the first victory (1987, 62)." Peters states the paradox with wonderful economy: "The palace of reason must be entered by the courtyard of habit (1974, 272)." It is a requirement of the socialization of youngsters in a democracy that they must come to hold positive feelings to the trappings of life in a democracy before they fully understand the nature of that system of government and society. The first steps toward the rational, autonomous, and critically minded citizen required by a democracy are necessarily nonrational and based on an unquestioned deference to authority. It is the movement from what Rawls (1971) refers to as the morality of authority to the morality of principle that constitutes the challenge of citizenship education. It is the period of adolescence in which there exists a critical opportunity for bridging these two moralities and it is to this opportunity that I wish to turn.

First, let me briefly present in some more detail what a number of philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and political scientists have described as three general stages in the development of the citizen (Durio 1976; Durkheim 1974; Hogan and Mills 1976; Kohlberg 1984; Peters 1970; Rawls 1971). The first of these stages has as its central foci, authority and attunement to rules. The very young child lacks a sense of appropriate behavior in social settings. Only through the exercise of the legitimate authority of the parent and the child's accommodation to that authority does the child internalize standards of appropriate social behavior. If the child loves and trusts the parents, and if the parents communicate clearly and exemplify the rules, the child will subsequently recognize that social life requires obedience to legitimate authority and rules. When the child begins school, the social world is expanded beyond the family, but the message remains the same, with the teacher now carrying on the socialization to authority and rules begun in the home.

The second general stage in the development of the citizen I will refer to as the stage of association and sensitivity to social expectations. This stage effectively carries the youth through his/her public or private school years. Gradually the child begins to share, if not supplant entirely, his/her affiliational allegiance to the parent with allegiance to a variety of social groups. At this stage, through the experience of groups and attachment to these groups, the youth learns to live with others, not just with authority. To live with others requires learning the standards appropriate to the individual's role in these groups. It also involves learning to be sensitive to the social expectations of others. One must accommodate one's desires and interests to group desires and interests. This requires the ability to view things from a variety of points of view and to think of this variety of perspectives as aspects of cooperation.

The third stage, autonomy and allegiance to self-chosen principles, arises when the individual recognizes that he/she is the beneficiary of a social organization that offers the benefits of social life to us. The realization that social organization is essential and desirable is primarily an intellectual achievement, although it has an affective component. One chooses to abide by society's rules independently, and one's understanding of this commitment is independent of the wishes of peers or parents; popularity recedes into the past as a motive for social behavior. To achieve this autonomous ideological maturity requires three features in the environment. First, the youth must have the cognitive maturity to conceptualize the role of principles in regulating complex social life. Second, the youth must have adult models on hand as exemplars of how intellectual and behavioral autonomy appears. Finally, the child must have exposure to history, a tradition, a political philosophy, a culturally based ideology on which he/she can draw. The orientations of the two earlier stages are not forgotten or replaced at this last stage, but rather it is at this time that all the earlier learned subordinate ideals are finally understood and organized into a coherent system of principles.

The resolution of the paradox of citizenship education should now be apparent. Learning to live with authority and to behave in accordance with authoritative rules is not in fact a point in conflict with the deliberative citizen. Instead, it is a necessary precursor to the development of the deliberative citizen. The democratic character can begin only by learning respect for authority and rules (law) in the home and school. If this foundation of democratic character is not developed in the child, he/she will not become facile at reasoning and lack commitment to democratic ideals. The society will consist of egocentric sophists who do not take moral questions seriously and use argument only to further their own interests. On the other hand, if democratic education ends with the first stage, we have citizens who subordinate themselves to authority regardless of its espousal of causes, no matter how unjust. As Gutmann argues, the goal of democratic education is ". . . deliberative citizens . . . committed, at least partially through inculcation of habit, to living up to the routine demands of democratic life and at the same time committed to questioning those demands whenever they appear to threaten the foundational ideals of democratic sovereignty, such as respect for persons (1987, 52)."

Before concluding with some suggestions for the planning of citizenship education programs for early adolescents, let me discuss three common errors associated with citizenship education. First, we should refrain from teaching what Ausubel (1968) has referred to as "phony concepts"—concepts that are used in writing or speaking without an understanding of their basic meaning. Much of what poses as citizenship education teaches phony concepts. On the September 3, 1987 ABC news program *20/20*, Betty

Bao Lord, the Chinese wife of our ambassador to China, recounts how back in her old grammar school, P.S. 8 in Brooklyn, she and her classmates would pledge the oath of allegiance to the flag: "For at the start of every school day, I would proudly salute the flag by saying 'I pledge a lesson to the flag of the United States of American and to the we puppets for witches' hands, one Asian, in the vestibule, with little tea and just rice for all.' " The teaching of phony concepts may be due in part to poor instructional planning and inadequate preparation on the part of teachers. However, this gap between the intended meaning of the instructor and the meaning as understood by the student may also be the result of differences in level of cognitive development. Take for example some of the uses of the word "right" I have heard in my roles as a parent and teacher of early adolescents:

"He has no right to call me that name."
"I have a right to play my stereo as loud as I want."
"Any nation that's strong enough has the right to do whatever it wants in foreign policy."
"If she hits me, I have a right to hit her back."
"The Supreme Court has no right to legalize the murder of unborn children."
"Atheists have no right to go on TV and preach against Christianity."

These interpretations of "rights" are not exactly what the framers of the Constitution had in mind, nor do they reflect the conception of rights that many parents and teachers wish for youth to hold.

In addition to the concept of a right, also at the heart of citizenship in a democracy, as Butts and Hartoonian remind us, is the ideal of justice. Justice, too, takes on many interpretations during the development of youth. For the very young, fairness is what is in accordance with the dictates of a significant authority figure. Later, justice is defined as the rules of the game as determined by social groups. At a more principled level, Rawls defines justice as embodying two principles:

> First, each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with similar liberty for others. Second, social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offers open to all (1971, 60).

Clearly, many youth lack the intellectual abilities required to internalize the Rawls' conception of justice. It is the failure to recognize this inherent developmental gap between the mature form of democratic ideals and intellectual maturity of youth that in some cases results in the teaching of phony concepts.

A second and somewhat related mistake made in the planning of citizenship education programs is the assumption that the value content of the curriculum and texts will be the value content learned by the students. This error is based on the hypodermic model of learning that assumes that when the curriculum contains reference to values and students are required to learn it, those values will be internalized. It is also assumed that if there is a problem with students acquiring values from the curriculum, then the solution is to increase the value content—a suggestion that is enjoying a degree of popularity recently. The existing research on the influence of biased materials on children is informative regarding the possible efficacy of whether the values in text material influence youth. Tibbetts, in a review of studies on the effects of sexist reading material on youth, concludes that the effects are "extremely individual, personal, varied, and unpredictable" (1978, 167). Guthrie (1983), in reviewing the literature on learning values from textbooks, finds that the tone surrounding the theme and the mind-set of the reader are the determinants of value formation. How the theme is handled by the author, how the values of the learners are related to the theme of the text, and the teaching strategies of educators, all operate together to determine student evaluations of the reading materials and eventually whether the material will reinforce or change an individual's values. Grueneich likewise eschews simple claims for the effects of biased materials on children's attitudes or values. Her review of the literature indicates that "Children virtually never form an internal representation of the story which is identical to the explicit content of the story, and furthermore, children of different ages may form different interpretations (1982, 41)." As strange as it may sound, and as opposed to common knowledge as it is, there is a real paucity of evidence to indicate that biased materials (either pro or anti contemporary values) leads to biased students. The reason why curricula do not have the simple linear effect that many assume is that they ignore the fact that the experience of curricula and texts by the learner is a two-way street. That is, curriculum may impact on students, but at the same time students are impacting on the curricula. Individuals, as they think about and act in the world, construct meaning for themselves; as they interact with the world, they construct and reconstruct reality.

In a review of the literature I completed three years ago (Leming 1985), I attempted to examine the extant literature for the effect of social studies curricula on students' values (social, moral, and political). While most of the studies were attempting to examine the effect of innovative curricula on youth, almost all of the studies used traditional social studies curricula as the control group. In the well over one hundred studies reviewed, not a single case was identified in the traditional (control group) classes where there was a statistically significant gain pre- to post-test on the dependent variables. The traditional text, curricula, and method of instruction in social studies appear not to have a discernible impact on student values. The hypodermic hypothesis is not supported by the evidence, and any attempts to increase the dosage, in my judgment, will not yield different results. The reason for this pattern of results is the overly simple assumption about learning that fails to take into account the learner's response to the material.

Of course, other criticisms such as insipid texts and dull and uninspired instruction may also contribute.

The third potential mistake that citizenship education should avoid is the elevation of a critical reflective perspective on society as the central objective of citizenship education for early adolescents. It is at this point that I have a disagreement with the Butts and Hartoonian papers. Hartoonian advocates that students be encouraged to develop social theory statements, assess current social and personal circumstances, and then develop policy statements that can bring social theory and practice closer. Butts also sees the central task as one to prepare citizens to judge the merits of public policies—to judge discrepancies between morality in public talk and personal practice. I do not wish to question, even for a moment, that this is an important characteristic for mature citizens to possess, but rather I wish to question whether this is a capability that should be the central focus of citizenship education for early adolescents.

My reasons for questioning this goal is my concern that there may well be collateral learnings associated with this approach that result in a negative contribution to citizenship. My first fear is that if this critical perspective is developed before the solid foundation of commitment to democratic values is developed, it may result in a tendency toward sophistry among students. Benjamin Franklin has a delightful quote that illustrates the point: "So convenient a thing it is to be a reasonable creature since it enables one to find or make a reason for everything one has a mind to do (1981, 42)." It is important that before students are asked to question critically society's realization of democratic values, the foundation for these values be solid enough that the student won't cast those values aside when unable to make sense of or resolve ambiguous situations.

My second and more serious concern in this regard is the possibility that students may develop cynicism, mistrust, and a diminished sense of efficacy regarding the political system. Even adults, at times, suffer feelings of political impotence, anger, despair, frustration, and outrage. The adult citizen's values, however, are typically resilient because his/her years of experience with our political system has enabled him/her to, from experience, roll with the punches and accept the system "warts and all." Youngsters, however, tend to be more impressionable and lack the capacity to view things from a tempered perspective. My concern is that a steady diet of the conflicts between democratic ideals and reality may result in despair and fatalism rather then optimism and faith.

The final mistake commonly made in citizenship education is the opposite extreme of a focus on critical rationality. It is the attempt to develop citizenship through unrelenting authority. The early adolescent is beginning to take notice of contradiction and inconsistency around him/her and is increasingly aware of the political world. The school must begin to take cognizance that the child is increasingly forming his/her own judgment about the nature of social reality. This evolving independence of judgment should not be stifled or ignored. The result of persisting dogmatic authority at this point, if successful, would likely result in a rigid, unthinking citizenry. Here, like above, the influence might be somewhat iatrogenic. Mereleman (1980) has suggested that the effect of successive exposure to strident and incompetent authority in schools does more to teach students to question authority than any curricula could ever do.

In early adolescence youngsters move from a world dominated by authority to a world composed of social cooperation and organization. Egoism and power begin to recede as the dynamics of social life, others' interests, and collective experience rise in importance. Rules that previously had been followed blindly are now seen as sensible as the need for social regularity becomes apparent to the child. It is this evolving social perspective that suggests a promising perspective on citizenship education for this age group. The patterns of social, political, and economic organization as they have developed in this nation have been a unique response to problems faced by any social group. This framework for the study of civic life is potentially consistent with students' developmental perspective. Three central questions lie at the heart of this perspective: (1) What problem did/does society face? (2) What is (are) the response(s)? (3) What principles or values are embodied by this (these) response(s)? The content for this last question will come from the U.S. Constitution and the American Creed values. Given that at any point in time societies only approximate their ideals, it is important that students not see just how we may have come short or failed, for example, to achieve equal opportunity for all peoples, but also where we are relative to past societies and in comparison to other societies. Thus a strong historical and comparative component is essential in citizenship education.

A set of core values should rest at the heart of the civics curriculum. These values should be defined in a manner that is developmentally appropriate and lend themselves to application in concrete situations. The curriculum should require that the student repeatedly identify the role of these values in contemporary life and apply these values to the understanding of contemporary issues. As the year progresses, the range of activities for students should require increasing breadth and depth of understanding.

In addition to a focus on values and their role in maintaining the infrastructure of society, the curriculum should demand a high degree of student engagement and involvement. This requires a curriculum and activities that the student finds personally significant. To have curricula that focus on problems and issues that students find interesting and challenging is not to trivialize the topic if the serious study of relevant history and social sciences is essential to the students' involvement with that problem. One problem with achieving engagement in the past has been the breadth versus depth question (Newmann 1986). Far too often student interest has been sacrificed to covering the material. Hard and courageous decisions will need to made if the "more is less" situation is to be avoided.

Educating early adolescents on their path to mature citizenship requires restraint. Assuming that the attributes of the ideal mature citizen should comprise the content and goals of the curricula would, from my perspective, be a mistake. It is the case in planning for citizenship education at this age that "less in more." The task for citizenship education with early adolescents is to assist in the journey toward mature citizens; to keep the ship on course, but realize that the end is many years in the future and cannot be accelerated beyond the individual's capacity.

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Part Eight:

Civic Education and Citizen Participation

Introduction to Part Eight

William T. Callahan, Jr.

In arguing before the conference that civic education and citizen participation are inextricably linked, Stuart Langton followed a time-honored tradition. Aristotle asserted that civic virtue is not something that can be cultivated solely by study. One becomes virtuous by doing virtuous acts. Accordingly, the citizen is one who is not only knowledgeable about civic affairs, but active in them as well. It follows that civic education should provide knowledge and skills to students not as ends in themselves, but as means of equipping them for effective participation. In this view, citizenship education that imparts "cognitive understanding and analytic capability without the passion to take part fails" (Reische 1987, 29). As Richard Merriman argued in his response to Mr. Langton, however, a completely contrary view can not only be readily constructed, but also more accurately reflects American political experience.

Traditional definitions of citizen participation are narrow and conservative. Lester Milbrath, for example, defines it as "behavior which affects or is intended to affect the decisional outcomes of government" (1965,1). Non-governmental organizations (e.g., corporations, churches, community groups) are excluded from his conception, as are activities (e.g., strikes, demonstrations, boycotts) designed to challenge or disrupt routine processes. Experiential learning is possible only for the oldest of students, because the basic act of civic participation is defined as voting.

Richard Remy, on the other hand, advocates a much broader definition including non-governmental groups and unconventional activities. According to Remy, citizenship entails "participation in group life" (1979, 61-64), and good citizenship and political participation are not necessarily directly related. The essence of citizenship is participation in group governance, which may be exercised in virtually any manner of group, from the family to the community organization to the polity. Defined in this manner, experiential civic education becomes available to all students, not simply those who have reached the age of majority.

In the paper that follows, Stuart Langton presents a broad view of citizen participation. Although less expansive than Richard Remy's, Langton's vision is nonetheless compatible with a multidisciplinary approach to civics. In his schema there are six types of participation, ranging from familiar electoral activities to "obligatory" participation on juries to volunteer service and mutual self-help. Together, the various forms of participation facilitate democratic stability by balancing continuity and change, obligation and choice, and public and private responsibilities. When their equilibrium is disrupted, society suffers.

The primary goal of civic education, according to Langton, is to endow students with strong feelings of civic efficacy: the conviction that they should, can, and will make a difference. Conditions now and in the future, however, are rendering this an ever more difficult task. Dramatic and continuous changes in information, communications, technology, and social institutions have created alienating conditions adverse to healthy civic life. Values and relationships seem less permanent and predictable. Community, national, and international problems seem innumerable and intractable. Information, disinformation, and advertising seem indistinguishable. It is not surprising that apathy and privatism abound.

Immunizing citizens against these pathologies of modern life requires empowering them to withstand, overcome, and change them. This requires a new approach to civic education, an approach that nourishes self-esteem, confidence, and efficacy; acquaints students with the nature, limitations, and connections between the political, economic, legal, and social systems; and hones practical skills directly applicable to overcoming and changing the alienating conditions present in society. It is civic education as preface to action, rather than as an end in itself.

Maximizing the capacity of schools to achieve such ends requires, in Langton's view, two major changes in the way schools are organized. The organization and operation of the school is an important part of the "hidden curriculum." When the school does not reflect the values it promotes, the purposes of civic education are undermined. Accordingly, Langton calls for the redesign of schools to maximize opportunities for students to actively participate in their governance. Specifically, he recommends involving students in decisions concerning not only school policies but the curriculum itself. Students and teachers alike would benefit from the democratization of decision-making processes in these areas of overriding interest and concern. While recognizing the discomfort this proposal is likely to cause among much of the education community, however, Langton offers no advice on how to overcome the anticipated resistance.

In addition, the school must end its isolation and become a part of—rather than apart from—the community. The school of the future needs to be "a place, a program, and a process" for partnerships serving the interests of both students and the community. Opportunities for students to learn outside the school through meaningful community service activities would be maximized by enhanced school-community dialog and cooperation. Similarly, an expanded concept of teachers that includes capable members of the community could be implemented in participatory schools. Not only would students benefit from the insights and expertise that could be brought to the instructional program from outside the school, but the very presence of community members would reinforce the reality and potential of participation and community service.

Stuart Langton's vision of the participatory school grows out of the conviction that students can only be empowered if schools and teachers serve democratic ideals in policy and practice. Eliminating this disjuncture is only a partial solution, however. Many organizations, from the family to the business firm, are not organized and managed democratically. Moreover, as Richard Merriman points out in his response, students must face the brute fact that most adults do not participate in civic affairs in any sustained way. Once away from the relative shelter of the school, children confront a world that is not as participatory as civic education claims it should be. Are adults hypocrites or merely fools?

Many Americans who do not behave as traditional "model citizens" are neither inconsistent nor foolish, Merriman argues. Rather, minimal or non-participation is frequently viewed as either a viable option, a valued option, or a reasoned response to the realities of contemporary politics. A major challenge to civic education is to teach students to understand this, for only then can they evaluate whether such a condition is good or bad and consider how it might be changed. The key to meeting this challenge is to teach about *both* of the major political philosophies that have influenced American government and politics.

In recent years, there has been a strong tendency among scholars and civic educators to glorify a community-based model of politics. Such a tendency is well reflected in many of the papers reproduced in this volume which call for emphasis in the civics curriculum on such things as the "common good," the "public interest," "civic virtue," and community service. While reviving such a model of citizenship and civic participation may be appropriate to the demands and pathologies of our time, it is not now, nor has it historically been, the dominant model in the United States. A more individualistic view grounded in the theories of John Locke holds that distinction, and students should be taught about it.

Community-oriented government has no necessary or specific institutional or procedural form. Its characteristic feature is its aim of pursuing the "public good" rather than the narrow interests of any particular individual or group. Creating and sustaining such a government requires that both rulers and ruled act on behalf of the interest of society rather than self-interest. As Merriman amply demonstrates, however, it became painfully obvious immediately after the American Revolution that self-interest was a more powerful motive than the public interest. The Constitution's provisions accordingly reflect little faith in extensive popular participation as a means of achieving good government.

John Locke's political theories portray the nature of the relationship between citizenship and government quite differently. Civic participation is no ennobling enterprise. Government is simply a necessary expedient to protect humans from their base tendencies. Its powers are strictly limited, and most matters of consequence remain outside the public domain. Fulfillment is sought not in the public arena, but in private life. As Merriman discusses at length, Locke's vision profoundly influenced the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and the individual initiative and self-reliance it championed drove American growth and development until the Great Depression.

The Great Depression, Merriman contends, created a polity that tends even more strongly to discourage active citizen participation. The New Deal substantially raised the stakes of government policy making and encouraged group-based political and economic activity, but without defining a substantive vision of the public good. Viewed sympathetically, this rule-bounded competition among diverse interest groups produces policy approximating the "public interest." Viewed unsympathetically, American politics becomes an unseemly scramble for government benefits by groups motivated purely by naked self-interest.

Regardless of whether or not one approves of such a group-oriented polity, it is nonetheless one that discourages sustained citizen participation. Hence, a good civics curriculum, Merriman argues, will not portray the reality of low levels of participation as an adult failure to live up to a standard that has scarcely been met in the course of American history. Rather, it will view the situation truthfully, as evidence of real problems in our political system. American politics can be re-imagined, but only if both the real and the ideal are fully understood.

Although Dr. Merriman's presentation took issue with the bias toward the community-based model of citizenship extolled by many conference participants and other contemporary civic educators, it provoked relatively little response from those present at the conference. On the contrary, his argument that it was counterproductive to confront students with massive contradictions between theory and practice without putting these contradictions into context was persuasive. Indeed, rather than debating the merits of either model, the conferees seemed to settle on a position reminiscent of Michael Hartoonian's presentation on morality and ethics. Specifically, there was general agreement that Dr. Merriman's suggested focus on the historical influence of both philosophies created an appropriate context for what Dr. Hartoonian had referred to as "construct validity," examining what *is* against the background of what ought to be, and considering ways to establish greater congruency between them.

Stuart Langton's recommendations did not fare quite as well. His call for stronger linkages between communities and schools was endorsed, but it was also familiar. The idea of drawing community resources into the schools is not particularly novel. The use of professionals and businessmen in classrooms has long been a hallmark of the law-related education movement and such economic education organizations as Junior Achievement. The community service dimension aspect of school-community partnership, coordinating community needs and student service opportunities, is relatively new. It has also been widely discussed in recent years, however, and appears to have broad-based public support.

Far more controversial was his vision of the internal features of the participatory school of the future. While there was broad recognition that the "hidden curriculum" presents a major obstacle to effective civic education, many of the conferees felt that Langton's proposed cure was worse than the disease. Even those who supported the idea of greater student involvement in school governance chafed at the prospect of students participating in curriculum and personnel decisions. Moreover, few if any participants thought that there was any realistic chance of such innovations actually being implemented. A new civics curriculum designed to enhance student efficacy would be better served, most thought, by concentrating on a realistic treatment of the subject of participation (as per Merriman) and viable participatory activities (such as community or school projects and simulations) rather than by attempting to democratize the inherently undemocratic institution of the school.

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Citizen Participation and Citizenship Education in the 21st Century

Stuart Langton

The Value of Citizen Participation

Citizen participation is one of the most fundamental values of American society. The belief in citizen participation, along with the values of liberty and equality, have shaped the American character and are reflected in our institutions and behavior (Downs 1987). The role that participation plays in this civic trinity of values is particularly important because it balances the tendencies toward excessive individualism and self-interest that may result from our commitment to liberty and equality. This is one reason why we see a resurgence of interest in citizen participation today. At the same time, our belief in liberty and equality has created a tradition of citizen participation that is diverse, dynamic, and frequently robust. This is why citizen participation may mean different things to people and is not easy to define simply.

While the phrase "citizen participation" is recent, the concept is not. Historically, participation is a value of great social and political significance. The social value of participation is expressed in our traditions of philanthropy (volunteering and donations) and mutual self help that de Toqueville described so well. The political value of participation is reflected in our polyglot system of government which includes both direct and indirect practices of democracy. The importance of citizen participation in America grows out of a belief in the capacity of people to govern themselves and a fear of tyranny. The concept used frequently in democratic theory to express this view is popular sovereignty.

As a people, we have been and are ambivalent about the extent of popular sovereignty. There have always been advocates and skeptics of popular sovereignty and widespread citizen participation. While few would seriously reject the value or potential value of citizen participation, the underlying and recurrent question is, how much and of what kind? It is significant and symbolic how the three seminal, separate but related documents upon which our nation was established (our social contract, if you will) reflect ambivalence about this issue. The Declaration of Independence, for example, offered a strong and revolutionary belief in popular sovereignty in proclaiming, "Whenever any form of government becomes self destructive . . . it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government." However, the Constitution of the United States created a moderate degree of popular sovereignty, concentrating rather upon a system of checks and balances as a safeguard against potential tyranny. Yet, the Bill of Rights was quickly (and necessarily) added to guarantee rights that make possible a strong degree of citizen mobilization and action.

What these documents illustrate is the tension that has always existed in America as to the extent of popular sovereignty and the amount of citizen participation. America's history demonstrates that acts of citizen participation have served different purposes, including revolution, preserving traditions, and improving the quality of life in society. Depending upon historical circumstance or political ideology, it is possible to advance notions of citizen participation to preserve the status quo, to support incremental improvement, or to achieve radical change.

The Importance of Different Types of Participation

The different purposes that citizen participation has served historically are reflected in the observable types of citizen participation that exist in the United States today. Elsewhere, four major types of citizen participation have been described according to different purposes, features, concerns, and examples of activities (Langton 1978). To summarize:

1. *Electoral participation* includes holding office, voting, and working to support candidates for office or a position on a referendum issue.
2. *Citizen action* is grass-root efforts of citizen groups to influence public policy and performance or reform government.
3. *Citizen involvement* includes efforts by government to have citizens provide advice in matters of administrative policy and practice.
4. *Obligatory participation* involves activities in which citizens are forced to take part under special circumstances, such as jury duty or military service.

A broader sociopolitical interpretation of citizen participation adds the following types of activities to these political definitions:

5. *Volunteer service* includes donating one's time, money, or other assets to help others, the community, or society as a whole.
6. *Mutual self-help* consists of people working together to address a need or problem they share in common.

What is important in distinguishing between these types of citizen participation is to appreciate the social significance of each and the ecological balance between them. Electoral participation provides a stable system of representative leadership and, in states and communities where referenda are used, of direct democracy. Citizen action is a means of stimulating change, generating new ideas, challenging the status quo, and forcing government to be more responsive in ways that are corrective or revolutionary. Citizen involvement can increase public and government understanding of issues, strengthen consensus, achieve greater policy balance, and make government more effective. Obligatory participation assures that citizens will be mobilized in times of special need. Volunteer service and mutual self-help assure that people will be responsible for themselves and each other beyond what government is able or willing to do.

What this system of multiple forms of participation does for our society is to maintain a balance between the need for continuity and change, obligation and choice, and public and private responsibilities in the public interest. Each of these types of participation is essential, and the absence of any one would significantly alter our sociopolitical system.

This is not to say that there are not problems or shortcomings with each type of citizen participation. For example, electoral participation can be corrupted; citizen action can be unreasonable; citizen involvement can be manipulative; obligatory participation can be unfair to the poor; volunteer service can be of bad quality; and mutual self-help can create dependency rather than empowerment. Because of the potential problems associated with each type of participation, it is understandable that some people reject some forms of participation and are willing to engage in only one or a few.

There is a danger to our system of citizen participation if critics of one type of participation fail to take action to improve it or engage in only one type of participation. To take refuge in commitment to one form of participation to the exclusion of others is shortsighted citizenship behavior because it weakens the system of participation as a whole and makes the tasks of the singular form of participation in which a person engages even more difficult. This problem is evident, for example, in the behavior of many interest group advocates who fail to get involved in electoral politics and then despair over the policies of candidates who are elected.

If there is an ideal version of citizenship for our time, it includes understanding the nature and importance of the various types of citizen participation and a willingness to take part in all as the needs of society and one's community dictate. This is a high expectation for citizenship, but not an impossible one. It is an ideal that is possible to obtain, but not without a renewed commitment to citizenship education.

Education and Participation

Citizen participation and citizen education are inextricably bound. The variety, quality, and extent of citizen participation are dependent upon the educational experience of our people. It was Thomas Jefferson who most clearly understood the necessity and relation of each. For Jefferson, education was essential if people were to exercise sovereignty, participate in self government, and influence government so as to avoid tyranny. "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves," he wrote. "If we think they are not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education" (Lee 1966, 17). He also argued, "The qualifications of self government are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training" (ibid., 19). In proposing a public school system for Virginia, Jefferson explicitly linked the need for mass participation and public education:

> Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are the only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe (ibid., 97).

The critical question for Jefferson, as it is for our time, is, what kind of education is appropriate to prepare people to participate in society and government? The question calls for defining the content of education and the process of learning. Jefferson and succeeding generations until the Progressive Era at the turn of this century were exclusively concerned with the former and saw little connection between what students learned and how they learned. John Dewey, more than anyone else, challenged this pedagogical shortcoming. Dewey opposed routinization in subject matter and passive roles for students in learning. He argued that the experience in learning was primary, and criticized American educational practice that "forbids much active participation by pupils in the development of what is taught" (Dewey 1961, 19). Dewey was uneasy and careful about simply or systematically defining the content or organization of education. His approach to educational reform went in quite a different direction. He believed that the starting point was not to define content, but rather to identify the values and goals of our society. "The conception of education as a social process and function," he argued in *Democracy and Education*, "has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind" (Dewey 1961, 97).

In considering the relation between citizen participation and citizenship education, there is good logic and practical sense in Dewey's approach. Before prescribing the content or practices of citizenship education, we must be clear about the kind of society we have in mind and the role that citizenship education plays in that process.

"The Kind of Society We Have in Mind"

The commonly accepted vision of the kind of society we have in mind is not dissimilar from that of our founding fathers. We want to be assured of the blessings of liberty and equality. We want citizens to participate in public life and to accept responsibility for the welfare of themselves, neighbors, community, and government. We want a just, prosperous, and secure society. We want to be free from the tyranny of government or of any faction.

Today we know things that could not have been anticipated by those who created our nation. While they were very cognizant of the malfunctions of European societies, we have experienced shortcomings and critical problems in our sociopolitical system during a time that is fundamentally different from theirs. Therefore, our view of the kind of society we want to be is both similar and different from theirs. While the corpus of democratic aspiration remains, we recognize the pathologies of our system and the ways we do not want to be. For example, we know the dangers that can result from excessive bureaucracy, unregulated technology, manipulation by the mass media, and insufficient access to information. We also know that the dangers that concerned our nation's founders are enduring. In particular, the dangers of factionalism, excessive self-interest, government corruption, and elitism are as much a threat today as they were in the eighteenth century.

The American vision of the kind of society we want is a continuation of traditional aspiration coupled with a desire to overcome the pathologies of contemporary life. Beyond this, there is one other aspiration that is critical to our future. That aspiration is to create the capacity among our citizens to participate in an interdependent world order in which people's economic, social, and political destinies are inextricably bound.

What is distinctive in America's commitment to these traditional, corrective, and emergent values is that it presupposes a very active society. As Amitai Etzioni has observed,

> An active society, one in which all major groups participate in public life, is a society whose values are more fully realized than less active ones. This is because many values are inherently dependent on an active society in that they either assume community-wide participation . . . or such participation is a prerequisite for their realization (Etzioni 1968, 12).

Therefore, citizen participation is both an end in itself and a means to achieve other ends.

Commitment to Participation: The Goal of Education

Increasingly, it is clear that our government and society are as good as the capacity of citizens to participate in public life. In the future we will need more and better citizen participation. To achieve this will require more and better general and citizenship education. Beyond the basic reading, computational, and communication skills that are essential for individual opportunity in our technological and bureaucratic society, citizens will need to possess some basic attributes, skills, and knowledge to preserve liberty and improve the quality of life in our society.

What are the most critical capacities that citizens require to participate meaningfully in the future political and social life of our nation? The historical responses to this question are significant but incomplete for our age. From the time of Jefferson until World War I, citizenship education was concerned primarily with the study of history and the inculcation of patriotic values. At the turn of the century, however, the scope of citizenship education was expanded considerably to include the study of government and society. Since 1892, the degree of interest in citizenship education has been substantial. For example, since then there have been more than thirty-six national committees or commissions that have developed a surfeit of recommendations regarding the content and process of citizenship education. "The variations of details are infinite," observes Freeman Butts, "yet there is a sameness to the list of goals and objectives" (Butts 1977, [illegible]0-61).

The historical trap of citizenship education is that it has tried to accommodate every civic interest and ideal imaginable. "High ideals and vague priorities" is the way Franklin Patterson once put it (Patterson 1960). In an era in which we expect more from, but acknowledge the limits of, schools, the competition for attention among and within areas of study is intense and continuous. What we need, therefore, is a conception of citizenship education that is clear and well-focused in terms of its essential meaning and ultimate outcome. Education for citizen participation provides such a focus.

The ultimate goal of citizenship education should be to engender within as many people as possible a willingness to participate in public life. It makes little sense to concentrate on how able citizens are to participate unless and until they are willing. Therefore, it is the attitudes and norms that people develop regarding participation that is the beginning and end point of citizenship education. The essential thrust of citizenship education should be to assure that people understand and feel that they should, can, and will make a difference. Every approach should be subordinate to this sense of necessity, possibility, and commitment.

To accept this goal of citizenship education implies a philosophy of education that is tough-minded, aggressive, and experiential. It is tough-minded in acknowledging that the questions, fears, and uncertainties that citizens, young and old, have about public life in America must be addressed with openness and integrity. We cannot avoid people's sense of alienation, distrust, and cynicism. We cannot substitute the ideal for what is real, but we can convince young citizens that the ideal is the best alternative to what is real. In this sense, we must abandon the assumption that young people are empty vessels to fill with facts and opinions. In our society, young people, and all citizens, are too knowledgeable and questioning to be told or easily convinced of the importance of civic commitment. We must begin therefore, with the assumption that there is resistance to and doubt about many of our civic values, and serious competition from more self-serving popular philosophies.

Only experience and vigorous dialogue will assure commitment to citizen participation among citizens. The implications of this reality for the organization of our schools and the competencies of teachers is considerable. As far as the schools are concerned, it means that we will need to provide many real and continued opportunities for young people to participate in the governance of their schools and communities to convince them that participation has meaningful outcomes. To tell them this will not be enough. They must experience it to believe it.

The implications of this approach to citizenship education for teachers is that they will need to tailor and limit, but not abandon, their role as purveyors of knowledge and advocates of values, to serve as facilitators of civic discovery. Whether or not this is possible on a widespread scale in America is not certain. If teachers are to perform this function, they will not only have to know more about community life, but they must participate more actively in it. Their wisdom as guides to civic learning must come out of their own experience. Their example and their commitment as citizens are the ultimate guarantors of the integrity of the curriculum.

Participating Well

If commitment to citizen participation is the ultimate goal of citizenship education, the question follows—What does it mean to participate well? Are there qualitative differences in citizen contributions, and are there standards of excellence for citizen participation? What beyond civic commitment should we expect or encourage?

A functional answer to this question is that there are specific attributes that are particularly helpful in accomplishing the different purposes of citizen participation described earlier. For example, listening well may be significant in mutual self-help; being objective helps one to be a good juror; and being willing to compromise may be important in citizen involvement activities.

A fully formed theory of citizenship education for citizen participation, which is far beyond the limited scope of this essay, should identify the most significant attributes that are influential in achieving the different ends of participation. Since there is limited empirical data concerning the relation between citizen attributes and participation outcomes, this is a very much needed area of inquiry for educational research and social science.

There is another way within the scope of this discussion to address this question and that is to consider if there are some common qualities of citizen behavior needed in all types of citizen participation to achieve the social and political values of our society. There are, I believe, four such qualities: reasonableness, fairness, tolerance, and respect. These qualities are necessary for social cohesion. Their absence (or opposite forms) undermine the possibility for any constructive social intercourse. Without them, distrust, cynicism, and violence inevitably follow.

Reasonableness is the foundation of security. It provides the condition for problem solving and decision making according to a common commitment to fact and logic. It is the tool to overcome conflict. Tolerance guarantees liberty and mutuality. It is, as Ralph Barton Perry once suggested, "the necessary condition of genuine and lasting agreement" (Perry 1971, 431). Fairness preserves opportunity for all and protects us from the excesses of individualism. Respect for persons and law is a necessary condition for commitment. It reflects commitment to the values of individualism and society.

Any practice of citizen participation that violates these principles is destructive, and any practice that does not advance them is flawed. Therefore, at the foundation of any program of education for participation should be a passionate commitment to promote reasonableness, tolerance, fairness, and respect as essential qualities of citizen participation. If there are any fundamental values that young people should learn through schools, they are these.

An Agenda for Civic Inquiry

How do children and youth develop a commitment to citizen participation and learn to do it well? While alternative theories of learning suggest different patterns, strategies, and approaches to the learning process, all theories assume that the quality of experience and the development of affective, cognitive, and behavioral competencies are the key issues with which to be concerned. The critical questions for any philosophy of citizenship education for citizen participation are (1) What kind of affective, cognitive, and behavioral competencies create commitment to and skill in citizen participation? (2) What kind of experiences are most likely to develop these competencies? (3) Who should be responsible for developing these competencies? (4) What are the cultural and institutional barriers to developing competencies? (5) What should and can be done to overcome cultural and institutional barriers?

What these questions make clear is that the essential issues of citizenship education are not merely pedagogical, but they are also sociological and political. While this essay can only outline and offer a few insights regarding these issues, its major purpose is to make clear their relevance and relationship to each other within the context of a social philosophy that is rooted in a strong commitment to citizen participation.

The question of relating these issues is critical for developing a philosophy of citizenship education for the twentyfirst century. One of the shortcomings in educational theory and practice in America, especially as it relates to citizenship education, has been a lock-step path of inquiry that proceeds from social ideals to educational goals to matters of pedagogical practice. The problem with this approach is not that it is logically or practically inappropriate, but rather the problem is that it does not consider existing and emerging cultural forces that do and will shape and limit the ideals, goals, and practices of education in the future. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the barriers and restraints to education before and during any effort to reconstruct education. The challenge is to be realistic, prescient, and strategic from the outset and throughout. Otherwise we may create approaches to citizenship education that are idealistic and consistent, but irrelevant and hopelessly unrealistic.

Beyond Alienation

The conditions of contemporary life have created a new situation for civic learning. In our time and in the future, citizens must cope with and adapt to dramatic and continuous changes in regard to information, communication, technology, and the structure of social institutions. Today, life is more complex, information voluminous, communication instantaneous, and the tools of production and problem solving rapidly changing. As a result, values and relationships (personal, professional, and civic) are less permanent, predictable, or clear in terms of what is and what might be.

The unanticipated consequences of post-industrial society are that people are more cautious about commitment. The time and energy that they have to commit to personal and civic life is reduced. They are often numbed by the range and complexity of problems in their community, nation, and world. They are confused by the amount of disinformation in advertising and public debate, and they feel helpless in the face of forces beyond their control. It is no surprise that apathy and consumerism abound.

These alienating conditions are the barriers to healthy civic life today. If we expect citizens to overcome these barriers, we must empower them with the skills to withstand, overcome, and change the alienating conditions of our time. Such a commitment to empowerment must be reflected in the ideals, focus, and practices of schools. The core of such a commitment to empowerment must be a program of general education that nourishes attributes of self-esteem, confidence, and personal efficacy. Without these basic qualities of personal health, it will not be possible to engender values of reasonableness, tolerance, fairness, and respect.

But more than this is needed if students are to be empowered as persons. They must understand how change is and can be brought about. They must understand the nature of social, political, economic, and legal institutions at the local, state, national, and international level. They must understand how different beliefs result in different consequences. What they must understand most about these institutions is their significance and limitations and how they have been and can be changed as a result of leadership and citizen action.

Beyond understanding, students also need to develop practical skills for overcoming and changing the alienating conditions of society. They must learn from an early age how to select priorities and manage time. They must be able to distinguish propaganda from truth. They must learn how to build and sustain satisfying relationships of different types and for different purposes. They must be able to analyze complex problems and make personal judgments as to desirable public policies. They need skill in managing conflict, achieving agreement with others, organizing and completing projects, working in groups, leading and following, giving and receiving help, and undertaking collective action to improve a situation.

Indoctrination, Dialogue, and Discovery

Is education for citizen empowerment possible in our schools, or is Ivan Illich correct in claiming, "School is the advertising agency which makes you believe you need society as it is" (Illich 1971, 113). Although there is something to be said for needing some features of society as they are, schools have done little to encourage or empower students to bring about change. The traditions of citizenship education, with its various approaches, observes Fred Newmann, "emphasize the importance of students learning to understand, describe, and explain reality, rather than exerting an impact upon it" (Newmann 1975, 6).

Education for citizen empowerment is not in opposition to understanding, describing, and explaining social reality so long as such efforts lead to and enrich the capacity of students to act. To this end, intellectual, normative, and practical growth must be related and reinforcing. We need citizens who understand, believe, and practice the values of citizen participation, and we need programs of citizenship education that balance all three needs.

The greatest danger to civic learning is that it will be rooted and routed in information and requirements that ill serve either the intellectual or the normative and practical needs of students. Reporting and regurgitating information should not be confused with real learning or intellectual rigor. The tragedy of this approach is that if we try to tell students too much through the spoken and written word, they will devalue what is said and be denied opportunity to learn on the basis of their interest and experience. Talk and written words mean little if they are excessive and not selective. More is not better and a lot is not enough.

The key to unlock the capacity of youth for citizen participation is to encourage practices of democratic indoctrination, dialogue, and discovery. These active practices are valuable because they motivate and sustain student interest and generate learning that is memorable. They are also important because they are authentic practices of democratic life.

There is every reason to be suspicious of indoctrination. Yet, the difference between indoctrination and propaganda is important to understand. As Paul Nash has pointed out,

> Even learning to read involves indoctrination, and we cannot—and should not—avoid it. Inevitable indoctrination is, of course different from propaganda: the former is carried out in order, eventually, to expand the area of the child's freedom, while the latter is aimed to reduce it (Nash 1966, 157).

Democratic indoctrination is, and should be no more than, efforts to advocate the values of freedom and responsibility upon which our society is built. To fail to advocate these values to students is to do disservice to both. While study and experience can reinforce and expand a student's commitment to the values of liberty, equality, citizen participation, reasonableness, tolerance, fairness, and respect, indoctrination should seek to provide the rationale and sentiment for future learning. In this sense, indoctrination is a matter of making clear how much we care about something. What is consistent about democratic indoctrination is that the values that are advocated encourage within young people the capacity and freedom to accept or reject them.

As indoctrination points the way in democratic learning, civic dialogue is a necessary condition for experiencing democratic learning with others. Civic dialogue is the process of listening, sharing, and building upon concerns, ideas, and ideals with others that are in the best interest of one's community (or state, nation, or world). The idea of civic dialogue is not unlike what Martin Buber once called genuine dialogue in which the individual "feels himself approached for an answer" and which gives rise to a "strengthening sense of reciprocity" with others (Buber 1957, 20). In this sense, civic dialogue is the experience of developing convictions and then connecting them with others to create a shared view of possibility and commitment. What is essential about civic dialogue is that it respects the value of feeling as well as reason, and considers the importance of each in making mutual action possible. In referring to civic dialogue as "democratic talk" Benjamin Barber outlines its dimensions: "Strong democratic talk, then, always involves listening as well as speaking, feeling as well as thinking, and acting as well as reflecting" (Barber 1984, 267).

Civic discovery results from civic dialogue. As Robert Reich has pointed out, civic discovery can be an occasion to debate the future of a community, to redefine problems and solutions, and to generate compromise, consensus, and commitment (Reich 1988, 114). These are aspects of civic discovery that schools should help young people experience. In so doing, young people will also discover deeper truths about civic life. They will come to understand the organization of social and political institutions, ground rules and strategies for democratic change, the difficulties and possibilities of groups of people struggling together to decide upon a course of action, and the practical lessons of carrying out actions that improve community life.

The Participatory School

Is it possible for schools to provide the kinds of experiences for young people to develop commitment to and skills for citizen participation? The answer to this question is "no" if schools are organized as most are today and "yes" if schools change in two significant ways.

Beyond a curriculum and pedagogy that promotes participation, the school itself needs to be an institution that is highly participatory in its organizational behavior. It should be an example of the values it promotes. To this end, schools of the twenty-first century must provide meaningful and numerous opportunities for students to participate in the governance of the school, and the school must be more intimately connected to the people and social life of the community. How might it be possible to achieve such participatory schools?

First and foremost, the school will need to evaluate and redesign itself to maximize opportunities for young people to participate actively in the governance of the school itself. Practices that already exist, such as electing and giving responsibility to class officers and other groups, should be continued and strengthened. Service organizations, such as Key Clubs, Booster Clubs, and Red Cross Councils, should be increased. The greatest opportunity for learning, however, is in relation to those things that matter most to students and teachers: the curriculum and school rules. Students and teachers would benefit and learn much, for example, if students participated in the planning and the evaluating of each course. Imagine how much students could learn if at the beginning of each school year and every course each teacher explained the proposed objectives and procedures and allowed students to revise and improve the teacher's design and to volunteer to accept responsibility for helping the teacher to manage projects and make presentations. Imagine also, how much teachers and students would benefit if students were given opportunities to evaluate each course and make suggestions for improvement, and if those suggestions were implemented.

Students could also learn much about participation if they participated in reviewing school policies. For example, schools could set aside one or several days per year for all-day workshops on how to improve aspects of school life. Student and teacher task forces could be created to make recommendations regarding such areas of student life as lunch programs, student safety, counseling, extracurricular activities, and student publications. Also, students could suggest criteria for selecting new teachers.

As the school evaluates and redesigns itself for greater participation of students in governance, the school should also create ways for greater participation between the school and community. The challenge to all of our schools is to become more a part of the community rather than apart from it. The goal of tomorrow's schools is to achieve a mutuality of interest and action between the school and all community institutions. The tradition of separation or insulation between schools, youth serving agencies, and other community organizations is a lesson from our past of how not to be. The school of the future needs to be a place, a program, and a process for partnerships to serve the interest of youth and the community.

Together, the school and other community institutions should identify the needs of the school and the community and then determine how each can assist the other. Such an assessment will identify real needs and suggest the activities that students can undertake in the community. It will also identify organizations and individuals who can guide and supervise young people in community service, and it will create contacts and relationships that can help young people to learn outside of the school.

As schools open their doors and allow students to learn and serve the community, they must keep them open to attract the involvement of persons to assist the school. As we look to the future, it would be unfair to teachers and students to assume that teachers, through their individual effort, will be able to empower young people to participate well in community life. What we need for the twenty-first century is a new and expanded concept of teachers that will include more than full-time employees of schools. The participatory school will be one in which the corps of teachers is ever expanding and changing to include individual students themselves and capable members of the community who have much to give and whose very presence in the schools demonstrates to students the reality and potential of participation and service.

The vision of the participatory school is one that will, undoubtedly, make many school committees, administrators, and teachers uneasy. It should, because it is a challenge to the "cult of efficiency" that has long dominated American education (Callahan 1962). It is also a challenge to the excessive autonomy and isolation of teachers from the community. This is not to reject the importance of educational organization or the vital role of teachers. It is, rather, a strong belief in the capacity of the school and of teachers to really empower students by serving the values of citizen participation in policy and practice.

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American Political Values and the Value of Participatory Citizenship

Richard Merriman

What should a good civics curriculum teach young people about participation in American politics? The answer, I believe, is that a good civics curriculum will teach students that many Americans who are not stupid or inconsistent regard minimal participation or non-participation in American politics as either a viable option, a valued option, or an intelligent response to the realities of American politics. Why would we want a civics curriculum to teach such a thing? Because it is true, and because telling young people the truth will alert them to real problems in our political life. How would a civics curriculum convey such a truth? The following is a suggestion.

Americans as Political Spectators

In a recent essay, Benjamin Barber described two concepts of citizenship in America. The concept, embraced by many Americans, prompts citizens to view themselves as "individuals with interests belonging to groups which have interests." The citizen's political role is to pursue these interests, which entails saying to elected officials and government bureaucrats:

> Here is what I want: I want a new sewer down my street; I want a tax break; I want jobs; I want something for me, my family, my particular group (Barber 1988, 33).

In other words, the government giveth (it spends) and the government taketh away (it taxes), and the citizen who knows the score will attempt to achieve the most favorable ratio of benefits to costs. Of course, the optimal approach, in this view, is for each citizen and interest group to call for more and more benefits while endeavoring to bear less and less of the associated cost. Anyone who doubts that many Americans—both citizens and politicians—find this an agreeable approach to political life is invited to consult the latest figures on the federal deficit.

The other view of citizenship, also embraced by many Americans, prompts citizens to ask questions like the following: "What would be good for our community? What would serve all of us as a public?" Persons with such a view of citizenship, Barber writes, ". . . move away from privatistic modes of thinking into a more public mode—a political, or civic mode of thinking. . . ." (Barber 1988, 33). Such a conception of citizenship, Barber asserts, does not entail an abandonment of all regard for self-interest. Rather, "It requires . . . the expansion of your own sense of what your interests are to include the interests of your town, your city, the state, the nation . . . ." (Barber 1988, 35).

Both concepts of citizenship are influential in America today. But they do not divide Americans into two distinguishable groups, with one group clearly committed to a self-interested approach to politics while the other group attempts to articulate and pursue political goals informed by a regard for the broader public good. Rather, many Americans seem to be committed in varying degrees to both concepts of citizenship, however contradictory and confusing such a situation may be.

Think for a moment about a story on the evening news. The story concerns an industry that is trying to convince Congress to exempt it from an environmental protection regulation, compliance with which will be expensive. The industry's lobbyist is being interviewed. The television viewer experiences some interesting reactions. The viewer reacts against the self-interested attitude of the industry and the lobbyist's efforts to claim that the industry is motivated by something loftier than self-interest. At the same time, the viewer is impressed by the industry's apparent political clout and moved by its claim that complying with the unreasonable regulation will force many factories to close, with resulting layoffs of thousands of workers. Here, the viewer concedes with grudging admiration, is an interest group that knows how to "play the game." Next to be interviewed is Ralph Nader, who criticizes the industry in question. The viewer admires his commitment to protecting the public's interest in a clean and safe environment and perhaps hopes, in a wistful way, that he will win on this issue. At the same time, the viewer feels vaguely weary of the "naive," "do-gooder" ethic that seems to give Nader such an uncomplicated view of the public good. Of course, we want a clean environment, but what about those workers? And does Nader really believe he can win?

Notice two things about this political scenario. First, the main actors in the effort to influence public policy are groups. The lobbyist represents either a corporation or an association formed by corporations that have similar interests. He has an office; he has a staff; he gets a salary; he wields specialized information most citizens don't have; and, if he is lucky, his association helps its cause by making campaign contributions to the members of Congress that he hopes to influence. Nader, in spite of our tendency to put him in the garb of Don Quixote, also has an office, a staff, and a salary that are provided by contributors on whose behalf he acts. He, too, wields specialized information and attempts to make members of Congress attentive to the electoral consequences of their votes. American politics is, to a very large extent, the politics of groups and their efforts to influence public policy.

Second, notice that the reactions of the television viewer are the reactions of a political spectator. Most Americans, if they take any notice of politics at all, do so as spectators; they watch. Political scientists Sidney Verba and Norman Nie have reported that less than a third of Americans are active in an organization that is involved with community problems. Less than a third of Americans have attempted to persuade another person to vote a certain way. Only one in five Americans has ever contacted a local government official about an issue, and the same holds true for contacting state and national officials.

Fewer than one in ten Americans is a member of a political club or organization. The only act of political participation that is engaged in by even *half* of American citizens is that which requires the least effort and the least information and is least likely to give the individual any discernible influence in the political process: voting in presidential elections (Verba and Nie 1972, 31).

The dispositions toward politics that are inspired by the two concepts of citizenship just described, interacting with the reality of American politics as a specialized type of activity dominated by groups, produce a polity in which low levels of citizen participation are anything but surprising. Such a polity discourages active participation by the many Americans whose dominant view of politics is that it ought to be concerned with the public good. They are disgusted and turned off by a polity that seems to them to be primarily devoted to satisfying and appeasing clamoring interest groups and the self-interested individuals such groups serve. Such a polity also discourages participation by those who might wish to frankly pursue self-interested political goals but who have reason—often very good reason—to think that they won't get what they want because they lack the resources or expertise to organize themselves and "play the game" effectively.

Finally, and perhaps surprisingly, such a polity discourages active political participation even by those who have managed to organize themselves into groups for the political pursuit of self-interest. It usually becomes clear to most such persons that their political concerns and affairs will be best tended to by professionals who are knowledgeable and adept at pursuing the group's interests. The so-called rank and file of such groups send their checks and leave the politics to the "pros."

What, then, should young people be taught about participation in American politics? The standard answer, as it is offered in their civics and government textbooks, has two parts: (1) Americans have the right to participate in politics and can do so through voting, working in political campaigns, running for public office, writing letters to public officials, attending and participating in public meetings of governmental bodies, lobbying, influencing public opinion and mobilizing its expression, and other activities; and (2) it is important for Americans to exercise the right to participate in politics because it is through active participation that citizens assure the attentiveness and accountability to the public of those who make decisions about public policy. In sum, the right to participate in politics is a precious one, and ought to be fully exercised by all citizens.

Given the abundant and readily available evidence that most American adults do not participate in politics in any sustained way, teaching students that participation in politics is terribly important is tantamount to teaching them that most adults are either idiots or hypocrites. Encouraging teenagers to view adults in this way is the educational equivalent of carrying coals to Newcastle. Why bother? The real challenge is to teach students something else: that many Americans who are not stupid or inconsistent regard minimal participation or non-participation in politics as either a viable option, a valued option, or an intelligent response to political reality. Only after students understand this, can they judge whether it is a good or bad situation and think about what they might do in light of that judgment.

But how would a civics curriculum do such a thing? The following is a suggestion.

Liberalism and Republicanism: A Tale of Two Ideologies

Americans have been influenced by two theories about politics and government—classical liberalism and republicanism—that have taught us rather contradictory lessons about citizenship and politics. At various times in our history one or the other ideology has been ascendant, and neither has ever completely supplanted the other. But liberalism became dominant 150 years ago and has, even with significant alterations, been dominant ever since. Republicanism, meanwhile, has retained some of its vitality; just enough, in fact, to serve as a sort of guilty conscience for our triumphant liberalism. A civics curriculum that manages to convey to students a tale of these two ideologies and their influence on Americans' attitudes about government and political participation will help them understand and judge the phenomenon of American political non-participation.

I can offer here only a thematic summary of how this might be done, and, of course, the material would need to be tailored to the abilities of students.

Classical Liberalism

The basic tenets of classical liberalism are set out in the *Two Treatises of Government*, written in the seventeenth century by the English philosopher John Locke. Locke's purpose in the *Two Treatises* was to specify the rights of the individual and to spell out the limits these rights place on the exercise of governmental power.

Locke employed a "state of nature" argument to assert that even before societies and governments existed, individuals had real rights and enjoyed substantial freedom. In the second chapter of the "Second Treatise," Locke wrote:

> To understand political power aright, and derive it from its original, we must consider what estate all men are naturally in, and that is a state of

> perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of Nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man (Locke 1947, 76).

But this is a state of liberty, "not a state of license," because the state of nature

> has a law to govern it, which obliges everyone, and reason which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions. . . . (ibid., 78).

This last matter—possessions—figures prominently in the *Two Treatises*. Locke wrote that God ". . . hath given the world to man in common . . ." adding that ". . . all that is therein is given to men for the support and comfort of their being" (ibid., 87). But before any individual can be sustained by this beneficent provision, there must be a rightful means to "appropriate" what is given in common and make it his own. As Locke wrote, referring to the useful bounty of nature," . . . another can no longer have any right to it, before it can do him any good for the support of his life" (ibid., 88). How can something given in common become one person's private property? Locke answers that every man has a "property" in his own person, "The 'labor' of his body and the 'work' of his hands, we may say, are properly his." Therefore:

> Whatsoever, then, he removes out of the state that Nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labor with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his own property (ibid., 88).

The acorns one picks, the deer one shoots, the crops one cultivates become private, not common, property because an individual's own property, the ability to labor, has been annexed to it.

Locke asserts that in a state of nature there are limits on the amount an individual may acquire. No individual, for instance, may acquire and then waste any of nature's bounty by hoarding more than can be used. Loss due to spoilage injures others who could otherwise have acquired and benefited from the use of the goods that were, instead, wasted. But after specifying this natural limit on acquisition, Locke writes that men agreed to circumvent it through the invention of money:

> If he would give his nuts for a piece of metal, pleased with its color, or exchange his sheep for shells, or wool for a sparkling pebble or a diamond, and keep those by him all his life, he invaded not the right of others; he might heap up as much of these durable things as he pleased. . . . (ibid., 98).

The invention of money, therefore, allows individuals to rightly appropriate from nature more than they can use so long as they can exchange these perishable acquisitions for money and thus avoid spoilage. Locke regards the invention of money, ". . . some lasting thing that men might keep without spoiling, and that, by mutual consent, men would take in exchange . . ." as clear evidence that men in the state of nature agreed ". . . to disproportionate and unequal possession of the earth. . . ." (ibid., 99).

All this, it bears repeating, obtains in a presocial and pregovernmental state of nature. Man's freedom, his property, and the agreement to allow unequal possession all precede the creation of a society and a government. The law of Nature, the very nature of man and the world as established by God and revealed by human reason, ordained and approved this state of affairs.

Unfortunately, wrote Locke, not all men in the state of nature were able or willing to act in accordance with the law of nature; some stole, some killed. And while each individual was entitled in the state of nature to enforce its law, that is, to punish and restrain those who threatened the lives and possessions of others, such enforcement was inconvenient at best and dangerous at worst. The state of nature, Locke wrote, lacks a *known* and *settled* law that will be evident to those who do not properly employ their reason. Moreover, it lacks a law that is impartially judged and that is backed by power sufficient to carry it into effective execution.

These "inconveniencies" of the state of nature ultimately induced men, "notwithstanding all the Privileges of the State of Nature" to seek sanctuary in the creation of a civil society. A civil society is created when a group of men agree that it is needful and consent to create it. This creation, Locke asserted, rested on unanimous consent. No one was forced to join; only those who agreed to the creation of a society were its members. Once such a society is created, its members decide on the form and powers of its government and bestow on one man or a group of men the power to make and enforce laws. These matters, Locke wrote, are decided by the will of the majority of the society's members.

The striking thing about Locke's liberal theory is its expansive view of individual rights and its consequently narrow conception of both the purpose of government and nature of public life. Locke makes it clear that the reason men enter into society is "the preservation of their property," and the reason men create a government is so

> that there may be laws made, and rules set, as guards and fences to the properties of all the society, to limit the power and moderate the dominion of every part and member of society (ibid., 188-189).

Locke also makes it clear that the matters of most consequence in an individual's life—provision for oneself and one's family, care for one's soul through worship, and the acquisition and disposition of property—are properly private, not public, matters. The creation of a government is simply a necessary expedient to which rational men may turn as a means of facilitating their handling of such private concerns through a system of laws. A zeal for public life and the use of government for large public purposes would not, Locke seemed to believe, stir the souls of such rational men. One gets little sense from Locke's theory that citizenship and political life can or should be expected to work a qualitative or ennobling change in the character of citizens. Government helps keep men off of each other's toes, and that is enough.

Because Americans today tend to think of an emphasis on the rights of individuals and a preference for limited government as "conservative" values, it is easy to underestimate how explosive and revolutionary Locke's theory was in the England of his time and still is. It provides a powerful normative yardstick with which to measure the actions of any government and prepares its adherents to regard a government's failure to measure up as something that jeopardizes their fundamental rights. The significance of Locke's theory was not lost on the Americans of the founding period. In the concluding chapter of his *Two Treatises*, Locke wrote:

> Whensoever, therefore, the legislature shall . . . either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, endeavor to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hand for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislative (such as they shall think fit), provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society (ibid., 189).

Thus wrote Locke. Thus wrote Jefferson:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety, and Happiness.

Jefferson asserted that in drafting the Declaration he consulted no books or pamphlets, but rather aimed to offer "an expression of the American mind" and to "place before mankind the common sense of the subject" (1953, 355-356). Both this common, or shared, sense of Americans' rights and Jefferson's expression of it are unmistakably Lockean.

Republicanism

But not merely Lockean. The majority of the Declaration of Independence—that part that students rarely read—is not devoted to expressions of political theory and principle. Rather, it presents a detailed and lengthy indictment of the British Crown for "repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states." Because they had read and believed Locke, the colonists understood their rights in dealing with tyranny. But it was republicanism that convinced Americans that tyranny was indeed incipient and that prompted them to launch a preemptive strike against this threat. And it was republicanism that inspired Americans to reach some quite un-Lockean conclusions about the nature of government and of citizenship.

The classical writings of Plutarch, Livy, Cicero, and others are the touchstone of republican theory. As Bailyn notes, these men watched the Roman republic falter and contrasted the early days of the republic, which "had been full of virtue: simplicity, patriotism, integrity, a love of justice and of liberty" to their present day, which was "venal, cynical, and oppressive" (Bailyn 1967, 25). As part of the Renaissance's recovery of classical learning, Machiavelli undertook a "scientific" study of Livy's account of the collapse of the Roman empire. The resulting *Discourses* presented Machiavelli's finding that all societies are prone to cyclical decline and decay, but that decline might be arrested, if not fully reversed, if a society produced, and was led by, men of "virtue." Virtue, in Machiavelli's view, is a trait of character that prompts citizens to act on behalf of the interest of their society rather than from motives of self-interest. A free society could not survive if its citizens and leaders were solely devoted to private interest and passion.

From the mid-1600s onward, English republicans began to pull together various strands of classical and Renaissance thought and to fashion an English ideology of republicanism. Republican government, they agreed, "had no other end than the welfare of the people: *res publica*, the public affairs, or the public good" (Wood 1969, 55). Creating and sustaining a government that pursued the public good rather than the narrower interests of a ruler or ruling elite required republican virtue, and not just in the rulers but in the people as well. The central theme of English history, according to many republican theorists, was the continuing struggle of Englishmen to recover the republican government they had lost when the Norman Conquest of 1066 fastened the yokes of feudalism and monarchy on England. This struggle had seen victories followed, true to historical form, by defeat and new oppression.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688-1689 was a signal victory in this epic struggle. But by the 1720s the English republicans saw ominous signs of a new tyranny. Their great nemesis was Robert Walpole, the first member of Parliament to be dubbed "prime minister." Working closely with the British Crown, Walpole achieved monumental changes in English society and government. Through the development of circulating paper money with a stable value, Walpole's government revolutionized English society. Property in land was no longer the only, or even the most important, source of wealth. Trading and speculation flourished. So did luxury and corruption. In the realm of governance, Walpole led the development of a "ministerial" system of government, over which he presided and which he manipulated, with the assistance and often for the benefit of the Crown, through the granting of titles, honors, jobs, pensions, and outright bribes to fellow members of Parliament.

Republican commentators were horrified by the toll these developments took on England's "balanced constitution," the most celebrated and revered product of the Glorious Revolution. The genius of the balanced constitution, in the republican view, was that it gave each estate in English society—royalty, nobility, and the people—a role in government and the power to protect its interests. The potential evils of unbridled monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy were thus avoided by the vigilant checks of each order on the others (Bailyn 1967, 76). That the King should attempt to subvert this balance by trying to insinuate his will and influence into the counsels of Parliament was worrisome, but not surprising, given the republican understanding that the possessors of power, and particularly monarchs, always seek to aggrandize themselves by preying on liberty. That the King should do so with the connivance of a member, indeed the prime member, of Parliament, was far worse. But it was the pliability of Parliament, and the complacency of the English people in the face of a new threat to English liberties, that sickened the republicans. They concluded that far from being motivated by republican virtue and regard for the public good, English government—indeed all of English society—was sinking in "self-indulgence, effeminizing luxury, and gluttonous pursuit of gain" (Bailyn 1967, 51). Only tyranny could follow.

The English republicans had remarkably little impact on English politics. But their writings were widely available and enthusiastically read by English colonists in North America. If England was threatened by tyranny, then so too were the American colonies, for beginning in 1763 the King and Parliament—under the leadership of George III's prime minister George Grenville—undertook policies aimed at tightening England's grip on the colonies. The colonists saw in the Stamp Act and in the actions taken by the British government after 1763 "something they had long conceived to be a possibility in view of the known tendencies of history and of the present state of affairs in England" (Bailyn 1967, 95). They saw taking shape "a deliberate assault . . . against liberty both in England and in America" (ibid., 95). If the King was intent on tyranny, if he was aided and abetted by Parliament, and if England's dissolute citizenry was incapable of rousing itself to restrain the government, then there was no alternative for Americans but separation and independence. As Jefferson wrote of his "unfeeling" English brethren,

> We might have been a free and great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom it seems is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too (Wills 1978, 378).

Republicanism and the American Founding

As American political writing about England became more denunciatory, as the vice and corruption of England were incessantly noted, a growing pride in the American character developed among the American colonists. There were several grounds for such pride. The colonies had been largely self-governing for a century prior to the American Revolution, and colonial society featured a distribution of land ownership and political suffrage that was unthinkable in England. While in earlier times America's "backwardness" had been regretted, the simplicity of manners and rusticity of life that were distinctive marks of American society were now extolled. In the republican account of things:

> Frugality, industry, temperance, and simplicity—the rustic traits of the the sturdy yeoman—were the stuff that made society strong. The virile martial qualities—the scorn of ease, the contempt of danger, the love of valor—were what made a nation strong (Wood 1969, 52).

By contrast,

> the love of refinement, the desire for distinction and elegance eventually weakened a people and left them soft and effeminate, dissipated cowards, unfit, and undesiring to serve the state (Wood 1969, 52).

It seemed to many Americans that they were well-suited for republican government.

Republican government, it was understood, had no necessary or specific institutional or procedural form. A republican government's characteristic feature was its aim of pursuing the "public good" rather than the narrower interests of any person or group of persons. Of course, colonial society and its politics had featured various contentions between groups and interests. There was, in fact, great concern in the 1760s and 1770s that many Americans had been tainted by the corrupt English spirit of self-interest and the rage for social distinction. But republicans believed that the resulting political and social divisions "were not to be dignified by their incorporation into formal political theory or into any serious discussion of what ought to be" (ibid., 58). There was, moreover, a good political and moral reason to ignore these divisions. As Wood has noted, it was a settled axiom of eighteenthcentury political science that there was a "reciprocating relationship" between the nature of a government and the character of its people (ibid., 119). This axiom could account for the building momentum of English decadence; a corrupted government was fostered by, and in turn fostered, a citizenry that was unable to resist either private or public corruption. The axiom was applicable in the American colonies as well. The colonists felt themselves suited for republican government and yearned, indeed anxiously sought, the further elevation of character that would attend the operation of a republican government.

The Americans' faith that they could create and sustain republican government seemed plausible because of their assumption that "the people, especially when set against their rulers, were a homogeneous body whose interests when candidly considered are one" (ibid., 57-58). Mankind's grim history with tyrannical governments made it all too clear that power "always and everywhere had had a pernicious, corrupting effect upon men" who possessed and exercised it (Bailyn 1967, 60). Consequently,

> In 1776 the solution to the problems of American politics seemed not to rest so much in emphasizing the private rights of individuals against the general will as it did in stressing the public rights of the collective people against the supposed privileged interests of their rulers (Wood 1969, 61).

When Americans turned to the task of creating new state governments (and it was this exercise that caught their attention, not the business of creating the pitiful government of the Articles of Confederation), they hoped to guarantee that these governments would pursue the "public good." How did Americans expect to create such governments? Part of the answer was to create governments in which most power was lodged in the branch of government—the legislature—where popular election of representatives would encourage shared interests and goals between governors and governed. Another part of the answer was to minimize the power of the executive and the judiciary. Concern over the power of the executive was a natural residue of the American experience with both the King and his colonial officers, and because it was generally agreed that judges could not properly be elected, it was also understood that they could not be trusted with great power.

But proper design of the new governments was not itself sufficient to guarantee republican policies. Because the governments were popular, much depended on the character of the people. In describing the spirits that animated different systems of government, the French historian-philosopher Montesquieu wrote of monarchies and despotisms that "there is no great share of probity necessary to support" (1949, 20) them. The threat of legal punishment in a monarchy and the threat of "the prince's arm" in a despotism were sufficient to maintain obedience and order. But in a republic, Montesquieu wrote, "One spring more is necessary, namely, virtue (ibid.)." And in a popular republic the people themselves had to be virtuous and seek the public good when choosing those who would govern or when chosen to govern.

The popular nature of the new state constitutions brought a new kind of man—often a small farmer or person of modest economic means—into political life. Many of these men found themselves crushed by debt and taxes in the years following the American War for Independence. Responding to political pressure from such men, many states issued paper money. In Rhode Island this was accomplished by the adoption of a state law giving landowners loans of new paper money, with their land as security. When this paper money was made legal tender for payment of debts, the usual relationship between creditors and debtors was reversed: debtors pursued creditors who wished to avoid being paid with what they regarded as worthless paper money. In response to this evasion, the legislature of Rhode Island made it an offense to refuse paper money and allowed creditors to come to court, declare their debts, and pay them in paper money. Creditors were then informed that the debt had been discharged and were invited to come and get their paper money. McLaughlin wryly notes that ". . . seven states entered on the difficult task of legislating their people into financial blessedness by the simple means of making money . . ." (McLaughlin 1962, 106-107).

Paper money was issued in Massachusetts as well, but continuing economic distress led to calls for yet more relief. When none was forthcoming, a group of armed men closed local courts and disrupted the processes by which mortgage foreclosures and debt collections were carried out. A ragtag army of these hard-pressed and angry men gathered in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1786, hoping to generate enough pressure on the state government to receive some relief. Led by Daniel Shays, they moved against a federal arsenal. But before they could seize the arsenal, they were met by a force of 4,400 men gathered under the authority of the state of Massachusetts and were scattered.

The Constitution

Shays' Rebellion and the states' struggles over paper money cast a long shadow over the experiment with popular state governments in which the legislatures were dominant, and caused great concern among the men who wrote the Constitution. The establishment of popular governments in the states, and the expectation that they would be republican, rested on the assumption that "the people" were an essentially homogeneous entity with similar interests and identical rights against government power.

The political expression of this assumption was, as has been noted, the decision to maximize the political power and popular basis of that branch of government—the legislature—in which the harmonious interests of society were to be identified and pursued. In fact, different groups—debtors and creditors, farmers and merchants, rich and poor—had quite different interests. Moreover, as it turned out, each was inclined to try to use government to pursue its interests, often at the expense of the rights of others. This seemed to be particularly true of those citizens, and numerous they were, who had little property. Americans had convinced themselves during the escalation of their conflict with England that they were republicans "by nature." In the 1780s many Americans became convinced, as McDonald writes,

> that the American public did not possess a sufficient stock of virtue to sustain a republic, as republics had traditionally been conceived. Man did not have virtue naturally, nor did he obtain it by laboring in the earth, nor did many men acquire it through religious instruction (McDonald 1985, 179).

If a republican form of government were to survive, then, that form would need to be re-conceived in light of the discredited virtue of the American people.

This is not the place to recount the events of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Rather, I will briefly summarize what one of the Constitution's most influential framers had to say on its behalf. In describing and defending the Constitution's plan for representative government, James Madison hearkened back to the problem of "faction" as it arose in the governments of the states. A faction, Madison wrote, is

> a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community (*The Federalist* No. 10).

A faction, then, was not to be defined in terms of the number of its members or the proportion of the population that embraced its aims. Rather, a faction was characterized by the pursuit of some aim other than the public good. Factions, often majority factions, had, Madison believed, run riot in the states, prompting complaints that these

> governments are too unstable; that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties; and that measures are too often decided not according to the rules of justice, and the rights of the minor party; but by the superior force of an interested and over-bearing majority (*The Federalist* No. 10).

A prime advantage of the proposed constitution's representative form of government, Madison asserted, was that a great number of citizens from a large extent of territory would be brought together in an "extended republic." This republic, Madison conceded, would unavoidably contain a variety of factions, as would any complex society. The principle of majority rule within the legislature would, however, curb the pursuit of narrow interests by minority factions. And the multiplicity and geographic distance of interest groups from one another would discourage the effective operation of a majority faction that might threaten the public good and the rights of the numerical minority.

The Constitution's plan for representation had, Madison wrote, an additional advantage. Because members of the House of Representatives would be chosen in districts with numerically large constituencies,

> it will be more difficult for unworthy candidates to practise with success the vicious arts, by which elections are too often carried; and the suffrages of the people being more free, will be more likely to centre on men who possess the most attractive merit, and the most diffusive and established characters (*The Federalist* No. 10).

Madison believed that the popular election of members of the House of Representatives would bring to office men of considerable prominence who would be less likely to have narrow and factious views. These men would "refine" the views of the public and pursue policies that showed a proper regard for the public good and a proper disdain for the political projects of special interests.

To all these checks against factious influence in the House, the framers of the Constitution added additional checks against the threat of popular factions in the national government. A Senate, not chosen by popular election, and therefore better insulated from factious public opinion, would have to approve any legislation passed by the House before it could go to the president. The president, also not chosen by popular election, would have the power to veto legislation. And the Supreme Court, chosen by the president with the consent of the Senate, would judge the constitutionality of legislation. The people would not directly control the national government, but the Constitution's arrangement of interacting and mutually checking branches would avoid governmental tyranny, Madison argued, by giving each branch both the inclination and the wherewithal to control the others.

The original Constitution reflected, in sum, the conviction that, after all, extensive popular participation in government was not the way to achieve republican government. The Constitution repudiated the popular republicanism that was the truest expression of the revolutionary impulse in America because most of its framers were convinced that it was unreasonable to expect republican virtue in the people. But at the same time, its framers hoped to salvage a role for republican virtue from the wreckage of the political experiments of the 1780s. This would be achieved through the selection for government service of men of virtue. This selection would not, in most cases, be made by the public, and in the one case that the public would have a role to play, election to the House of Representatives, it was expected that men with wide reputations and good character would usually be elected. Men with factious tempers might also be elected by the people, but it was unlikely that they would ever dominate even the councils of the House, let alone the rest of the government.

This was something new under the sun. The Constitution embodied a new "political science." It was not predicated on the assumption that the people would be virtuous. It assumed, instead, that the people were essentially self-interested, and attempted, both by refining public opinion and by thwarting it, to make a space in government in which virtue might operate for the benefit of the people. Many Americans, as the ratification debates showed, had a hard time swallowing this pill, and once got down it refused to stay down.

The Triumph of Liberalism

As a new national government succeeded in asserting its supremacy over the state governments, and as it began to make policy on such matters as taxes, banking, international commerce, transportation, the opening and settlement of western lands, and a variety of other issues that directly affected the welfare of millions of citizens, Americans became increasingly unwilling to continue in their new role as political spectators. One of the changes demanded in the early 1800s was an expansion of the electorate by the removal of property qualifications for voting. "Manhood suffrage"—

voting by free white men—was common in the new states of the west, and by 1850 Virginia and North Carolina had joined the other original thirteen states in adopting it. Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution specifies that a state's members of the U.S. House of Representatives are to be chosen by the electorate that chooses the most numerous branch of that state's legislature; thus manhood suffrage in the states brought manhood suffrage to the elections of the House of Representatives.

By the time John Adams was elected to the presidency in 1796, serious conflicts over national government policies had divided the nation's leaders into groups that would eventually become political parties. As these parties sought to attract popular support, they democratized the presidential selection process. By 1832 party conventions had replaced caucuses of members of Congress as the mechanism for nominating presidential candidates. These conventions, at least in theory, gave the parties' rank and file members a greater voice in choosing candidates.

As parties became more prominent in nominating presidential candidates, they transformed the operation of the Electoral College. Candidates for selection to the Electoral College were frequently pledged to a particular party and its presidential nominee. By 1832 every state but South Carolina had shifted the selection of these Electoral College electors from state legislators to the voters. The popular election of pledged electors retained the form of the Electoral College's mediation between voters and presidential candidates, but the discretion of electors was substantially reduced in favor of greater public influence in the selection of a president.

These democratizing changes were not easily won; people argued about their merits. In these debates, the elitist republicanism that informed the design of the Constitution was cast aside. Participation in early American politics, though widespread, was often conditioned by land ownership qualifications. The "freehold" requirement for voting was intended to achieve two republican purposes. First, it guaranteed that only those with a settled attachment to the community would be involved in deliberations about the community's general welfare. Second, property in land gave the citizen his independence, his sturdy, yeoman character. It was, Berthoff writes, the person "who could afford independent judgment," and not be swayed by an employer, a creditor, or other man of influence, who could "be relied upon to consult the general welfare and to respect his fellow citizens' right to life and liberty as well as property" (Berthoff 1979, 107).

As the nineteenth century progressed, non-freeholders who wanted "in" to political life began to assert, with mounting success, that the " 'attachment to liberty' that old-fashioned republicanism prized could be demonstrated . . . in many ways" (ibid., 118). It increasingly seemed that "A man could put his civic virtue to work in any honest occupation or enterprise in order to acquire property and advance the general welfare of the community" (ibid., 118). Through such a view was the bubbling popular impulse for self-interest and acquisition reconciled with the old republican ideology of virtue and the sacrifice of self-interest. As Berthoff concludes, "The further into the past the Revolution receded, the stronger grew the impression that free enterprise was the very heart of the republican ethic." (ibid., 120).

The American people wanted to be both enterprisers and virtuous. They wanted to act like liberals and believe they were republicans. By the middle of the 1820s the chief obstacles to this project were the national government in general, and President John Quincy Adams in particular. The national government, reflecting Adams' commitment to positive government action in pursuing an expansive view of the public good, was involved in "internal improvements": bridges, roads, ferries, etc. But it was usually involved only to the extent of granting charters to individuals to develop and operate these improvements. Such grants necessarily benefited certain enterprisers while seeming to limit opportunities for others. A chronic shortage of circulating currency seemed to many Americans an intolerable constraint on their chances to make money. Yet the Bank of the United States—chartered by the national government and operating to the apparent satisfaction of Adams—consistently pursued policies that curbed the expansion by other banks of the supply of paper money. Finally, there was the matter of tariffs. By 1828 the American system of tariffs had no clear purpose but to protect every interest that could find a mouthpiece in Congress—and there was no shortage of these. Thus were certain interests protected at the apparent expense of the public. Yet Adams signed into law the "Tariff of Abominations."

To the enterprisers it was clear: Adams had to go. But so too did his positive government, because the choicest fruits of its activism were going to a few favorites. Andrew Jackson was the popular choice. In his message explaining his veto of a bill to re-charter the Bank of the United States, Jackson wrote,

> It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. . . . [W]hen the laws undertake to . . . grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government.
>
> Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth can not be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law.
>
> There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favor alike on the high and low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing (Remini 1972, 80-81).

The remedy for the abuses of elitist republicanism was, in short, democratic liberalism: limited government, individual freedom.

Jackson's triumph was based in large part on the weariness of many Americans with the republican call to the denial of self-interest and their suspicion that calls for government sponsorship of measures for the "public good" were really a guise by which elites fattened their purses by creating money-making opportunities that they denied to others. Driving such persons from the temple of government appeared to many to be necessary as a means of destroying the perverted republicanism of Adams in favor of a revival of the simple republican style of life. Certainly, this was Jackson's view of what he was doing. But in fact Jackson's actions "in many ways cleared the path for the triumph of laissez-faire capitalism and its culture in America" (Meyers 1967, 47).

To be independent, to be moving up, to be a self-made man, was the dominant aim of most Americans by the 1830s and 1840s. Before this time, Wood writes,

> The upward-thrusting individual sought to acquire the attributes of the social status he aspired to and at the same time tried to forget and disguise the lowly sources from whence he came. Such mobility had not been something to be proud of, as indicated by the pejorative terms—"upstarts," "nouveaux riches," and "parvenus"—used to disparage its participants (Wood 1976, 13).

The popular repudiation of Adams and the world he represented—a world in which "patronage and personal influence inevitably formed the vertical links that held the social hierarchy together"—signaled Americans' readiness to shatter a deference-based model of mobility (ibid., 7). In its place developed the American cult of the self-made man. Such men boasted of their "humble origins and their ability to have made it on their own, without influence and patronage, even without education" (ibid., 13).

Interest Group Liberalism

The self-made man was unleashed in the 1830s and 1840s. Not until the Great Depression of the 1930s did it become apparent that the American version of liberalism—which emphasized individual initiative and self-reliance—had been undermined by profound changes in the American economy. The growing interconnectedness of the economy and the consequent economic interdependence of Americans had been seen clearly by the Populists, who called in the 1890s for substantial government involvement in the economy. The Progressive movement, too, recognized the threat that modern capitalism, with its large organizations and concentration of economic power, posed to the chances of the prospective self-made man. But it was the Depression that finally revealed that the average American's ability to find work that provided a living wage, a decent life, and a secure retirement was conditioned by the vagaries of an international market economy, the decisions of bankers, investors, and employers, and the spending preferences and capacity of millions of other Americans. Such an economy stripped the individual of a significant amount of control over his or her economic circumstances and prospects.

The New Deal response to the Depression was multifaceted. The government planned and regulated production; organized farmers, laborers, and consumers; regulated banks and stock exchanges; created jobs; attempted to shape spending and saving; set minimum wages; and provided unemployment compensation, relief, and old age insurance. What it did not do, what it evidently could not do, was present "explicit new definitions of state action as a desirable and enduringly necessary instrument of national public good as well as individual well-being" (Skocpol 1983, 96). The American people, indeed the American political mind, did not have the ideological equipment necessary to define a substantive public good that would be pursued by government even if it meant subordinating a host of narrower interests. That equipment, that ability to think and talk about the public good, had been abandoned one century earlier.

The New Deal, instead of defining and pursuing a substantive vision of the public good, did two things. First, it exonerated individuals from total responsibility for their own well-being. Certain kinds of Americans—the elderly, the infirm, and children—received a measure of governmental support. Government policy also shielded workers who were temporarily out of work from suffering a precipitous loss of all income. In effect, the New Deal introduced into public life a concept of blamelessness that has since sustained policies that have protected millions of Americans from economic hardships they did not create and are powerless to avoid.

The second thing the New Deal did is more complex. It explicitly recognized group economic interests, encouraged Americans to think of themselves as members of groups, and encouraged formerly unorganized economic interests to coalesce and organize themselves. The best and most important example of this is the assistance given by federal legislation to the unionization of the work force. This legislation was intended to pit economic interests against each other in a way that would, at least theoretically, allow these interests to compete with one another for economic advantage *outside* the realm of public policy. After an early experiment with active governmental involvement in setting wages, hours, and production, the New Deal turned to this policy of organizing labor as a countervailing power to business. If in the world of industry the development of counter vailing power could be accomplished, government itself would not have to become involved in the details of how the economy functioned. These could be negotiated, outside the realm of government, by labor and management.

But at the same time that the national government was backing away from entanglement in certain private economic decisions, it was, nonetheless, expanding its role in shaping the performance of the national economy and the distribution in society of benefits and burdens. In so doing, it greatly raised the stakes of governmental policy making and provided a powerful inducement to groups of all kinds—some of which it had encouraged to organize—to become involved in efforts to influence governmental policy.

The combination of the New Deal's recognition of group economic interests, its assistance in organizing some of these interests, and the mounting stakes of government policymaking produced a new American polity that is dominated by interest-group activity. Some political scientists have called the resulting polity a pluralist one. Viewed sympathetically, the pluralist polity is a system that encourages rule-bounded competition between interest groups for influence on public policy. This competition, again viewed sympathetically, produces—through multiple points and means of group access to policy makers and alternating policy wins and losses by various groups—something like policy in the "public interest."

Other political scientists have viewed this polity unsympathetically and called it a system of interest-group liberalism. In this view, American politics amounts to little more than the unseemly scramble by a host of interest groups for benefits bestowed by government. The principle motive in this type of politics is self-interest; that is what makes it liberalism. But the pursuit of self-interest is now an activity that is dominated by groups; that is what makes this interest-group liberalism.

Teaching About Participation

As was noted at the outset, such a polity—whether viewed sympathetically or critically—tends to discourage active and sustained citizen participation in politics. This may be said equally of those who do not participate because the scramble of interest-group politics disgusts them, of those who lack the ability to organize themselves to be effective political participants, and of those who join interest groups and, in effect, hire someone else to do their participating for them. A good civics curriculum will help students understand that while our polity provides all kinds of opportunities for participation, many Americans simply choose not to avail themselves of that opportunity. For some, minimal participation is a valued option. For some, minimal participation seems a viable option. For some, minimal participation seems an intelligent response to the realities of American politics.

The problem of participation is not that so many Americans do not participate very much. That is a symptom. The problem of participation is actually several problems, all stemming from the contemporary dominance within American politics of interest groups. This politics cannot command the interest and the participation of many Americans who wish to see government pursue the old republican ideal of the public good. Students should be encouraged to think about whether it is a good idea to have a political system that disgusts many of its citizens. This politics is not congenial to those who lack the resources and expertise to organize themselves. There are no political action committees funded by the poor. Students should be encouraged to think about whether it is a good idea to have a political system that is uncongenial to those who lack money or organizational expertise. Finally, this politics is a danger to this country. Students should be encouraged to think about whether it is a good idea to have a political system in which groups pursue governmental benefits while trying to avoid bearing the associated cost, and in which elected officials are judged by their readiness to play along.

In sum, the study of political participation can provide a useful means of studying the problems of our contemporary political system. I think that, ultimately, we Americans will need to re-imagine our politics, and that part of this re-imagination will involve a revival of the republican concept of the public good as a limit and control on the pursuit of group self-interest in American politics. Whether that will happen is anybody's guess. But it needs to happen. And it is more likely to happen if we tell students the truth about low levels of political participation and portray this reality not as yet another failure by adults that students—as usual—are exhorted to avoid, but as evidence of real problems in our political system that students, soon enough, will have to face.

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Part Nine:

Conference Recommendations

Conference Recommendations

William T. Callahan, Jr.

The format of the Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference was designed to stimulate balanced, productive deliberations. The scholars invited to make presentations represented a broad range of disciplines and philosophies. The audience, equally diverse and well-qualified, discussed the papers and responses in order to develop recommendations for the design and dissemination of a new, more effective civics curriculum. Opportunities for reflection, interaction, discussion and debate were plentiful. It was hoped that, as the conferees exchanged views in large and small discussion groups, intellectual synthesis would occur. In the terminology of David Mathews (1985, 678-681; 1988), it was hoped that "civic talk" would take place within the discussion groups, and that the perspectives of those participating would not simply be *compromised* into a "most common denominator," but, rather, *transformed* into an entirely new vision of the dimensions and purposes of civic education.

Despite the many complex issues addressed and the variety of viewpoints represented, the conferees reached consensus on a number of content and strategy themes. This convergence around a limited set of guiding principles was facilitated by the formal presentations. Although the scholars who prepared papers for the conference worked independently and under a minimum of direction, common strands are readily discernible in the body of work they produced. These synergies were apparent to the conferees and eased the consensus-building process.

Near the conclusion of the conference, each discussion group was instructed to formulate a specific set of recommendations to guide the Our Democracy curriculum development project. These were compiled by the project staff and were formally presented for consideration at the final session of the conference. Reactions and objections were encouraged, but no vote of affirmation or similar approval or endorsement was requested of the conferees. Accordingly, the recommendations which follow represent the sense of the conferees as a whole and do not necessarily represent the views of any particular individual in attendance.

Recommendation One: Content from the political, economic, legal, and social systems *can* and *should* be integrated in the civics curriculum.

This central premise of the Our Democracy project was enthusiastically embraced. In the papers and throughout the conference deliberations, the

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artificial boundaries separating the disciplines were continually decried and the reality of the multidisciplinary nature of civic life was repeatedly demonstrated. Problems such as poverty, homelessness, and world hunger cannot be fully understood, much less resolved, from a single disciplinary perspective. Today's students face an increasingly complex and interrelated world in which the need for informed and thoughtful citizens has never been greater. Their decision making must be endowed with the benefit of multiple frames of reference.

The argument that the existing social studies curriculum as a whole provides the multiple frames of reference that citizens of the twenty-first century will need was not accepted by the conferees. Ernest Boyer (1988, 5) has said that "the goal of civic education is best expressed in a single word—connections." The traditional curriculum, however, presents knowledge in discrete bundles of disparate facts and assumes that students will make connections on their own initiative. That this assumption is faulty is evident in the increasing problem of civic illiteracy. The time has come to design multidisciplinary citizenship education courses and provide students with explicit instruction in making connections across subject areas.

Content selection is, of course, of paramount importance in such an endeavor as the Our Democracy project. The conferees expressed confidence that appropriate multidisciplinary content can be identified and suggested that the task be approached by seeking conceptual synergies across the four systems. In this regard the theme "less is more" was oft-repeated during conference deliberations. In an increasingly information-rich environment, broad, integrative concepts that equip nascent citizens to process information as it is encountered are of more utility than disparate facts, which can easily overwhelm and inhibit understanding. Hence, content should be organized around seminal ideas, theories, and values, and emphasis should be placed on helping students use them in problem-solving and decision-making situations.

Recommendation Two: The eighth- or ninth-grade civics course presents an ideal opportunity for students to receive comprehensive citizenship instruction.

One of the most attractive features of the Our Democracy project to the conferees was the fact that this reform effort does not require adding a new course to an already overcrowded curriculum. Civics has been a staple of the social studies curriculum since the early 1900s. Today, nearly one million students annually enroll in eighth- or ninth-grade civics courses. Not only does the popularity of the course present a unique opportunity to reach a substantial number of young citizens, but civics is also genuinely in need of reconceptualization. The conferees were unanimous in the opinion that traditional government-oriented, descriptive approaches to the subject no longer provide adequate preparation for the exercise of democratic citizenship. They also felt strongly that the multidisciplinary approach advocated by the Our Democracy project was well-suited to the needs, interests and abilities of eighth- and ninth-grade students.

Early adolescence is a particularly appropriate time for students to receive their first comprehensive, integrated civics instruction. It is at this stage that they acquire the cognitive ability to comprehend reciprocal relationships and to reason abstractly, skills essential to democratic citizenship. Students are also experiencing the basic development of their adult values and gaining their first concrete experience with the roles and responsibilities attending adult civic life. Most important, the dropout rate before the tenth grade is very low. Beyond this level, it is higher than 25 percent. An eighth- or ninth-grade civics course may be the only opportunity fully one-quarter of our youth will have to learn about the basic systems in which they will function for the rest of their lives.

Recommendation Three: Developing civic skills is an essential component of effective education for citizenship.

The conferees agreed that knowledge and information are necessary but not sufficient conditions for the responsible exercise of citizenship. Democratic citizenship entails judgment, choice, and action. Its practice requires more than the possession of knowledge; it includes exercising responsibility, commitment to values, and active participation. Civic literacy is not simply a literacy of knowing, but of doing (Morrill 1982, 365). Effective civic participation is an active and multidimensional enterprise that requires multiple competencies. A wide range of applied skills needed to cope with the increasing demands of modern citizenship were discussed by the conferees.

The most fundamental citizenship skill is *decision making*. Each of the disciplines related to the political, economic, legal, and social systems can contribute valuable insights into rational decision making. Yet, students have historically studied each system separately. Accordingly, the benefits of an integrated decision-making model are unknown to many students. This deficiency of civic learning must be redressed if the citizens of the twenty-first century are to meet successfully the challenges that lie before them.

The development of enhanced decision-making skills requires the acquisition of a number of ancillary skills. These include analysis and critical thinking; media literacy; cooperation and conflict resolution; and communication, advocacy, and persuasion (Parker and Jarolimek 1984; Reische 1987). In an increasingly complex, diverse, and information-rich environment, it is essential that civic education impart competencies to support a lifetime of learning and participation. No matter how well-informed citizens may be when they leave school, over time they will inevitably find their knowledge inadequate to their needs. The possession of applied information gathering, information processing, and interpersonal skills will help ensure that citizens are adequately prepared for the exigencies of the twenty-first century. Imparting such skills is not an abstract enterprise, however, and this leads us to the next recommendation to emerge from the Citizenship for the 21st Century Conference.

Recommendation Four: The application of civic skills is essential to the process of learning them.

Good citizens are made, not born. The repertoire of intellectual and interpersonal skills needed for effective civic participation must be learned, and to be learned well they must be practiced. Civic competence is forged through experience, not exhortation or moral prescription. Unlike many other subjects, civic education is education as preface to action, and it is therefore uniquely suited to active learning strategies.

The conferees felt strongly that all elements of the new curriculum should be specifically geared toward the interests, abilities, and experiences of young adolescents. Particularly appropriate to and effective with this age group is the concrete, "real world" approach. There is no shortage of civic institutions, issues, and concerns that directly impinge upon students' lives, and these can be utilized to engage students in civic learning. Analyzing, discussing, debating, and making decisions about real matters of genuine interest hones the intellectual and interpersonal skills requisite to effective civic participation. The meaning of compromise, for example, is better understood when learned through actual negotiations over issues meaningful to students than when taught as an abstract principle of democratic conflict resolution.

In addition to providing skill-building exercises and opportunities for civic decision making, the conferees felt that the new curriculum should also encourage actual civic participation by students, both as individuals and as members of groups. The preferred mode of such participation would be volunteer community service, which holds the promise of reaffirming the responsibilities of citizenship and the centrality of community while enhancing crucial attitudes of personal efficacy and self-esteem. It was recognized, however, that these qualities can be promoted through means other than community service. Whatever the specific approach that is used, the feeling that citizens can make a difference in civic life must be cultivated in students if they are to be expected to participate in civic affairs as adults.

Recommendation Five: Judgment must be informed by the perspective that an understanding of values, civic virtue, history, and global interdependence can provide.

Knowledge of the political, economic, legal and social systems, the possession of intellectual and interpersonal skills, and feelings of civic competence and efficacy are insufficient in themselves for the responsible exercise of democratic citizenship. The conferees thought one additional attribute—*perspective*—is necessary for informed judgment. Interpreting events, evaluating issues and alternatives, and making reasoned decisions requires multiple perspectives. The facts, whatever they may be, must not only be examined from several disciplinary frames of reference, but must also be analyzed within appropriate contexts. Most obvious is the context or perspective of values.

Shared values are critical to the survival of any society. They are the standards of choice that guide the community toward meaningful and desirable ends. As such, all civic decisions are filtered through and influenced by values. Although teaching about values has always been a sensitive area, there was a consensus among conferees that one of the most debilitating flaws of current civic education programs is insufficient concern with and attention to democratic values.

An effective program of education for citizenship must explicitly address democratic values on two levels. On the one hand, it should act to reinforce commitment to and positive feelings about democratic values. On the other hand, democratic values must be open to inquiry and debate as concepts. Students must learn that civic life frequently means choosing between values, not simply affirming them; that the meaning and application of values evolve over time; and that values are not accomplished ends but represent goals to be striven for and ideals against which our progress as a nation can be measured.

History provides another very useful source of perspective with which to inform civic decision making. Indeed, perspective is widely acknowledged as one of the principal benefits of the study of history (Cheney 1987; Duffy 1988, 460-462; Ravitch 1988). Knowledge of history allows one to see events and ideas in a larger and ongoing context. This historical perspective serves as an important yardstick with which to assess our progress and gauge our prospects. Indeed, the conferees felt that an integral aspect of the new curriculum should be continual historical comparisons illuminating the progress the nation has made toward fulfilling the promise of democracy. These would place the shortcomings of democracy in context and counterbalance their potentially destructive effects on students' developing value systems and sense of efficacy. The same ends can also be achieved by comparing the contemporary United States to other nations of the world, and this technique of perspective building was also strongly advocated by the conferees.

Increasingly, the perspectives offered by values and history need to be augmented by the addition of global understanding. In many respects, citizenship can no longer be confined within national boundaries. Mass media and improved communication and transportation technologies have shrunk the world to the size of a "global village." Domestic politics and economics are characterized by international interdependence. Many of the issues and challenges of the twenty-first century, from the greenhouse effect to energy to the threat of nuclear conflict, are global in nature. Resolving these problems will require a global consciousness that recognizes the existence of extended planetary citizenship and accepts its attendant responsibilities. A global perspective grounded in basic knowledge of and respect for the history, values, and cultures of the variety of peoples with whom we must conduct civic affairs on a planetary scale must be cultivated among the citizens of the twenty-first century.

The same other-directedness represented by the global perspective is also important to cultivate with respect to the conduct of civic affairs generally. The conferees expressed great concern with the pervasive influence of privatism and the declining interest in social concerns and public service among Americans. There was broad agreement that the model of citizenship and civic virtue derived from the American experience, which stresses the primacy of the public good over individual self-interest, should be emphasized in the new curriculum. As David Mathews eloquently argued, building common ground and discovering the public good requires civic intelligence—the ability to step outside of oneself and view reality from the perspective of others. Accordingly, the conferees recommended that students not only be presented with a clear conception of the meaning of good citizenship, but also be given ample opportunity to develop civic intelligence and civic virtue through classroom, school, and community activities.

Recommendation Six: An effective, multidisciplinary civics curriculum must be supported by a variety of instructional materials.

The conferees strongly recommended that the Our Democracy project develop a variety of instructional materials. The development of a text reflecting the new approach to civics was encouraged, because teachers depend heavily on texts to guide the learning process. The conferees, however, stressed that textbooks are inherently limited when the subject matter at hand has the immediacy of civic affairs. Civics textbooks, of necessity, tend to be "there and then" oriented while young adolescents are "here and now" oriented. Accordingly, it is not surprising that available civics textbooks largely fail to engage students (Carroll 1987).

Engaging students and equipping them with the variety of skills they will need for effective civic participation in the twenty-first century requires the development of a wide range of instructional materials. In this process, the possibility of taking advantage of emerging computer, video, and interactive videodisk technologies should be seriously explored. Particularly germane to the issue of immediacy would be materials addressing civics content through current events, using newspapers and television as sources. Materials stressing active learning, such as games and simulations, were also recommended. Community service programs and other participatory learning experiences, some conferees asserted, could accomplish both ends. Those materials entailing working in groups would be especially valuable in developing the skills of communication, cooperation, negotiation, and compromise that citizens will need to handle the "entirely new order of pluralism" predicted for America's future. This increasing diversity is already being reflected in the composition of schools, and constitutes in itself a sound reason for developing instructional materials that utilize a variety of technologies and teaching methods in order to accommodate differences in learning style, culture, etc. among students.

The guiding principles discussed in the foregoing section encompass a very wide range of curriculum and instruction issues germane to the Our Democracy project. Together, these constitute a unified framework for defining the goals, selecting the content, and devising instructional strategies for a new, multidisciplinary civics curriculum for students in Grades 8 and 9. The conferees also raised some cautionary and advisory concerns, however, which provide an element of context to inform the curriculum development and dissemination processes. Recommendations seven through ten express these cautionary and contextual concerns.

Recommendation Seven: Developmental appropriateness is crucial to the effectiveness of the new curriculum.

Early adolescence is a time of great educational opportunity, but conferees cautioned that the opportunity can easily be squandered. Although young adolescents are developing more sophisticated reasoning abilities, becoming more interested and involved in the world outside the family, and forming their basic values and attitudes, they are far from completing these processes and assuming the mantle of adulthood. Although young adolescents are capable of learning and applying far more complex concepts and processes than was assumed a scant twenty years ago, treating eighth and ninth grade students as "little adults" would be a major mistake.

The conferees endorsed the presentation of content in ways lending themselves to application in concrete, "real world" situations, an approach appropriate to the capabilities of young adolescents. An effective civics course for students of this age should provide ample opportunities for knowledge to be personalized, applied to familiar settings, reflected upon and related to prior knowledge. Approached in this manner, learning becomes an active process of meaningful knowledge construction, rather than a confrontation with abstract ideas that fosters student disengagement.

The new curriculum must also carefully balance realism and the critical reflective approach to civic affairs with historical and comparative frames of reference that put the "warts" of American democracy in perspective. The problems and failings of our systems cannot be avoided or glossed over, because adolescents are becoming sensitive to discrepancies between the ideal—as often presented in the curriculum—and the reality that surrounds them in their daily lives. On the other hand, few adolescents have developed the strong commitment to democratic values necessary to withstand a steady diet of negative commentary without damaging their sense of efficacy and without becoming distrustful and cynical. Placing the defects of our systems in historical or comparative perspective, however, can help ameliorate these potentials. It is important that present shortcomings be tempered by an appreciation of where we are relative to our past and in comparison to other contemporary societies.

Although as many as one-quarter of the students who may be exposed to the new curriculum will receive no further citizenship education, restraint must be the hallmark of the new civics curriculum. As severe as the crisis in citizenship may appear to be, it will not be resolved by attempting to accelerate middle school civic education beyond the intellectual and emotional capacity of young adolescents. One course cannot turn an eighth- or ninth-grade student into a mature citizen, nor should the curriculum be framed in terms of the attributes of the mature citizen. Conferees warned that depth must take precedence over breadth, lest the "more is less" syndrome characterize the curriculum.

Recommendation Eight: The curriculum must be sensitive to the changing demography of the American population.

The citizens of the twenty-first century will operate in a civic context markedly different from that of today. Increasing diversity is one of the hallmarks of our nation's future. Declining white fertility, increasing levels of immigration, and changes in family structure are working dramatic, changes in the social fabric of the United States. Conferees stressed that a new civics curriculum must reflect these emerging cultural and civic realities in order to prepare the next generation of citizens to cope with them.

The United States has been often characterized as a nation of immigrants, and this is more true today than at any time in the past. Fully two-thirds of the world's immigrants come to America. The current wave of immigration is larger than that of the 1920s and shows no sign of abating. Moreover, today's immigrants are far more culturally, educationally, and linguistically diverse than those of the past. The citizens of the twenty-first century will accordingly conduct their civic affairs within the context of an entirely new order of pluralism. Civic education programs must therefore place particular emphasis on celebrating the virtues of pluralism, inculcating the democratic value of tolerance, and endowing citizens with the skills necessary to integrate diverse points of view. Only a citizenry so equipped can successfully adapt the cultural core that binds our diverse nation together and ensure its transmission to following generations.

Changes in the structure of the family also hold important implications for civic education. The "Norman Rockwell family" is an endangered species, representing a mere seven percent of U.S. households. Seventy percent of today's children have mothers in the paid labor force. A related development is the rise of single-parent families, overwhelmingly characterized by females as head of the household. Divorce, abandonment, and teen births have all contributed to the feminization of poverty in America. Nearly onequarter of all children live below the federal poverty level, and there are no discernible signs that this situation will improve in the near future.

Civics curricula and instructional materials must be sensitive to these new realities. The traditional American family as stereotyped in the television programs of the 1950s can no longer be presented as the typical family form. A variety of family forms must be recognized as legitimate. The shortcomings of democracy, such as poverty, inequity, and prejudice, cannot be ignored when substantial, and growing, numbers of students are experiencing them. Doing so is only likely to compound the emotional problems often associated with family instability and phenomena such as poverty and racism. These, in turn, adversely affect academic performance and undermine the goals of civic education. It is a grave disservice to our children to prepare them for participation in a polity that does not exist.

Recommendation Nine: Teacher training, both preservice and inservice, is central to the acceptance and success of the new curriculum.

The conferees recognized the need for teacher training suited to the new curriculum. The approach advocated by the Our Democracy project runs counter to both the evolution of the disciplines toward ever greater specialization and the dominant paradigm of teacher training and certification, which reflects this same specialization. A sound case that students need a broad, integrative civic education to cope with the increasing demands of modern citizenship is not enough to ensure the acceptance and success of a new, multidisciplinary civics curriculum. To facilitate adoption, teachers must be prepared.

An interesting paradox in contemporary social studies is that teachers have expressed dissatisfaction with current civics curricula and available instructional materials and generally support a new, multidisciplinary approach to the subject, but few feel themselves qualified to teach such a course. Most civics teachers have adequate academic backgrounds in political science and history, but few have much, if any, training in economics, jurisprudence, or sociology. Accordingly, many have doubts about their ability to teach topics related to these fields ((Farmer 1984, 170).

A key goal of the Our Democracy project must therefore be to demonstrate to practicing teachers that the new approach to civics entails competencies that most of them either already possess or can readily acquire. Through workshops, demonstrations, presentations, and endorsements, teachers need to be shown that teaching about the political, economic, legal, and social systems at the middle-school level does not require advanced training in each of th[illegible]ciated disciplines. Indeed, mastering the requisite disciplinary content is likely to be less of a challenge than learning to think and teach in integrative terms.

The conferees also recommended that efforts be undertaken to encourage and support the introduction of integrative approaches to the preparation of future social studies teachers. Similarly, the availability of multidisciplinary courses at the postsecondary level, both in the social sciences and in education departments, would go a long way toward promoting approaches to civic education requisite to the demands of citizenship in the twenty-first century.

Recommendation Ten: New approaches to evaluation must be devised and validated to determine the effectiveness of the new curriculum.

Conferees believed that a major challenge confronting the Our Democracy project revolves around the issue of evaluation. Existing tests and evaluation instruments are at best only partially relevant to a multidisciplinary civics curriculum. In addition to assessing the success of the curriculum in transmitting factual knowledge to students, the Our Democracy project uniquely requires means of evaluating students' acquisition of civic skills, understanding of values, and sense of personal efficacy. There was broad agreement among the conferees that demonstrating the effectiveness of the new curriculum along all of these dimensions is crucial to its acceptance and use nationwide.

The effectiveness of civic education programs is largely gauged by the performance of students on standardized tests of civic knowledge. If the Our Democracy approach to civics is to gain acceptance, it must therefore demonstrate that students exposed to it gain civic knowledge, preferably with better retention and comprehension than students exposed to the traditional curriculum. Although it would be unreasonable to evaluate a multi-faceted, skill-oriented curriculum such as Our Democracy *solely* on the basis of students' factual recall abilities, mastery of civic knowledge is by no means irrelevant to the acquisition and cultivation of civic skills and behaviors.

In addition to demonstrating effectiveness within the framework of existing evaluative criteria, the new curriculum must also be shown to have a positive impact on the development of students' civic skills and attitudes. This is a rather more problematic task, but a vital one. A multidisciplinary civics course as defined by the Our Democracy project may not impart the same range of objectively measurable facts as the traditional curriculum. The residual of functional knowledge, however, should be greater than that resulting from conventional programs. Proven superiority over a limited domain of common content will not be enough to supplant traditional civics. Such a superiority in tandem with demonstrable success in improving students' understanding of and commitment to democratic values, sense of efficacy, and decision-making skills is more likely to win converts among those who are currently content oriented.

Unfortunately, no standardized tests exist with which to evaluate the attitudes and skills so central to the new civics curriculum. The validity of traditional measures of attitudes has been called into serious question, and reliable new measures have yet to appear. A great deal of work remains to be done before an overarching theory or comprehensive set of principles to guide the evaluation process becomes available. Hence, one of the greatest challenges facing the Our Democracy project is the task of devising and validating new instruments for evaluating civic skills and lobbying for their general acceptance. The conferees recognized that this process would be difficult, but urged the project staff to pursue it with alacrity.

Guided by the recommendations presented above, the Foundation for Teaching Economics and the Constitutional Rights Foundation are currently proceeding with the challenging task of defining the new civics curriculum, developing instructional materials reflecting a multidisciplinary approach to citizenship education, and establishing model programs in selected schools around the nation. Those who recognize the need for revitalizing citizenship education and who wish to help shape the new civics curriculum are cordially invited to participate in the Our Democracy project. Inquiries may be directed to the following address:

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Appendices

Appendix A

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